Changing Social and Cultural Identities in a Border Area: The Case of Pre-Imperial and Early Imperial Sichuan (V-I cent. BC)

by

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ABSTRACT

My PhD thesis *Changing Social and Cultural Identities in a Border Area. The Case of Pre-Imperial and Early Imperial Sichuan* discusses the funerary remains of the Sichuan region dated from the Warring States period to the Western Han dynasty (V-I cent. BC). My research specifically addresses issues of identity, boundaries and social interaction, immediately prior to and during the early incorporation of the region into the empire, as well as the relevance of these concepts for the interpretation of global trends and local variations identified in the archaeological record. My aims were on the one hand to question the attribution of specific cultural traits to distinct "archaeological cultures", as the local "Ba" and "Shu" cultures", and on the other hand to detect from the discontinuities of the archaeological record the existence of cross-cutting and overlapping social and cultural identities.

The research entails a qualitative and quantitative analysis of a dataset composed of around 300 burials and their grave goods assemblages recorded in Chinese publications and field records. Special attention was given to the use and association of different burial types, specific classes of items (pottery, bronze weapons, bronze vessels, bronze objects, ornaments, seals, iron and lacquer), and distinct decorative motifs on weapons. The patterns identified in the temporal and spatial variability of the selected funerary elements have suggested the existence of a complex social landscape, characterised by various horizontal and vertical differentiations within and between sites, and by the presence and interaction of different social and cultural groups involved in a process of adjustment, negotiation and redefinition of their own identities. This overall picture is opposed to a more classical and culture-historical perspective which tends to explain variability in the region with the existence of different "archaeological cultures".

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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations listed below are used in all the tables, figures and graphs of the thesis.
The abbreviations for grave goods types are instead listed in tables 4.10-4.36 of chapter 4.

Grave types

BC	boat-coffin grave
BCc	boat-grave with inner coffin
EP	elongated pit
G	*guo* burial
Gc	*guo* burial with inner coffin

Grave goods classes

bD	bronze ornaments
C	coins
glD	glass/bone/jade/gold ornaments
I	iron items
L	lacquer items
O	bronze objects
P	pottery vessels
S	seals
V	bronze vessels
W	weapons

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CHAPTER 1

CHANGING CULTURAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES IN A BORDER AREA: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The problem of how to link the material variability in the archaeological record with the real agents of change and the dynamic processes of the past has always been central to archaeological discourse. The approach of the culture-historical tradition, which associates the repetitive occurrence of similar typological and stylistic traits to specific cultures and past living peoples, explaining variability in terms of migration and diffusion, has largely been rejected as too simplistic. The functionalist and deterministic explanations of the processualist or New Archaeology, after the '60s, and the more recent post-processualist theories have all tried to propose multivariate and contextualised approaches for the explanation of the spatial and temporal variability of the archaeological remains and their distinctive distributional patterns. Central to all these approaches is the idea that past societies were not static and self-contained entities, but were characterised by a continuous process of interaction, adjustment and negotiation between different and often overlapping social, cultural or ethnic groups. The renewed interest in the idea of cultural and ethnic identities as agents of change can be regarded as a theoretical and methodological attempt to analyse this ongoing process, which is only partially reflected in the archaeological record and not in a consistent and clearly detectable way. The discontinuities identified at an archaeological or anthropological level, for example on the basis of a rigorous analysis of typological, stylistic or technological variations, can hardly be directly related to the existence of clear social and cultural boundaries. However, the identification of patterns in the use and association of selected variables, recognised as significant indicators of individual or social identities, can provide insights on the changing attitudes of self-representation of certain groups and on the dynamics of their interaction, given the fact that these elements can convey different values over time and in different areas.

The problem of interpreting variability in a meaningful way is particularly fierce when dealing with the archaeological remains of funerary practices. Burials and grave goods are the visible and only partial product of a complex combination of different factors informing the funerary ritual and affected by the social status of the deceased, by the beliefs concerning death, by the mortuary symbolism and the world-view attached to an after-life dimension, and often by various strategies of wealth and status display or social legitimisation undertaken by the group celebrating the deceased. All these factors can coexist together and be variously displayed in the course of the ritual, both with physical remains (burials, grave goods, inscriptions) and with immaterial or non-permanent expressions (chants, processions, flowers, performed ritual, participants). The identified variability only concerns the first physical domain which, although incomplete, can nevertheless give relevant suggestions about the social, cultural and symbolic context affecting the burial practices.

In this chapter I will first introduce the theoretical background informing the development of the concept of "identity" as a response to the theoretical and methodological limits implicit in the idea of "archaeological culture". I will then address the implications of the concept and its relevance for the study of archaeological variability and "boundaries" through the discussion of the more specific case of "ethnic identities" and in relation with the idea of "border areas" as spaces of interaction. In the second section I will introduce the specific case analysed in this study, discussing the relevance of the outlined concepts in relation to my research questions and with the existent tradition of archaeological studies in the China. The chapter will then be completed by a section devoted to the theoretical and methodological approaches more specifically adopted in the study of mortuary remains for the identification of social and cultural identities.

1.1 IDENTITY VS. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CULTURE

The idea of the association of "archaeological cultures", characterised by the repetitive occurrence of similar typological and stylistic traits in material remains, with specific ethnic groups or past living peoples, was developed in Europe at the end of the XIX century and explicitly formulated by Kossinna (1911) and Childe (1929)

within the culture-historical tradition as a means of interpretation of material variability. This perspective was largely informed by a methodological approach based on the typological classification of artefacts, divided into classes and families according to their specific attributes and directly associated to specific cultures. Similarities and differences were explained in terms of diffusion of motifs and migrations of peoples. This approach was also particularly emphasised for political and historical reasons, as the equation between past cultures and ethnic groups played an important role in the shaping of the new nation states during the XIX century and the legitimisation of nationalist policies in the century after, as in the case of Germany (Veit 1989). In China the culture-historical approach has further been conditioned by the influence of historical sources in the interpretation of archaeological evidence (Chang 1981, von Falkenhausen 1993, Pulleyblank 1964, Xia 1990); ethnic groups or political entities, recorded in the written evidence as located in certain geographical areas, are often taken as real and well-defined cultures, which can de detected archaeologically through the spatial distribution of distinctive traits in the areas directly associated to them.

Although the concept of archaeological cultures can be useful as a way of classifying and summarising spatial variation for descriptive purposes, it can be very misleading to adopt it for analytical ones (Shennan 1989: 6). It was rapidly realised, especially in the European and American archaeology, and even by the same Childe (1956), that the identified differences in material remains did not show clear-cut boundaries, as the idea of archaeological cultures as univariate phenomena would have implied, but a large variety of cross-cutting patterns and a much more complex picture in terms of processes and interactions. The same limitations were found in the attempt to correlate distribution patterns of archaeological remains to ethnic groups, as ethnic boundaries did not always correspond to identified variations in material culture. Ethnographic research also showed that the same ethnic distinctions, as identified by the archaeologist or the anthropologist, did not necessarily correspond to those perceived by the same people.

These interpretative and methodological limitations lead to a shift, early in the '60s, from the culture-historical perspective to more explanatory approaches which, accepting the idea of culture as a multivariate phenomenon, emphasised how the variability and overlapping patterns in the material record might have developed as an expression of social interactions at different levels (class, age, gender, ethnic

affiliation etc.) or due to specific factors (symbolic or status needs, technological or environmental constraints, cognitive processes, etc).

The renewed concern with the problem of cultural identities and ethnic groups (Shennan 1989) has developed not only because of new political concerns such as the emergence of ethnic groups striving for recognition or for social change (Graves-Brown 1996, Jones 1997), but also by the need for a reconceptualisation of the term and of a systematic exploration of its potential, in terms of theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches, in specific archaeological contexts. The use of the term "cultural identity" does thus not lead to a recovery of a culture-historical approach, with its attribution of cultural traits to specific peoples, but it implies the existence of a multiplicity of "cultural identities", variously defined as status, ethnic affiliation, gender, which continuously interact and overlap in their specific manifestations. The same construction and definition of these identities is continuously changing over time and according to the specific context. Central to this issue is how to identify cultural identities and social boundaries in the variability of the archaeological record.

1.1.1 Cultural identities and ethnicity

The recent literature on issues of culture identity and ethnicity and their archaeological implications offer interesting suggestions along these lines. In particular, the current discussions on issues of ethnicity (Emberling 1997, Graves-Brown et al. 1996, Jones 1996, 1997), largely influenced by the theoretical perspectives advanced by Barth (1969), are particularly relevant to addressing the problem of cultural identities. Barth, for example, rejected the idea that race, culture and language are isomorphic traits defining ethnic identities, suggesting instead that the process of ascription by outsiders and self-identification of the group member were the most important factors. The same idea was expressed by Leach who argues that social units are not based on the sharing of a distinctive set of cultural traits but are produced by subjective processes or categorical ascription that have no necessary relationship to observers' perceptions of cultural discontinuities (Leach 1954, cit. in Bentley 1987: 24). The concept of ethnic group thus acquired a more dynamic and mobile dimension, not necessarily embedded into elements of language, race and

culture as a fixed combination of traits, but continuously changing as part of a social process in which the mechanisms of formation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries between groups were particularly important. Thus, "the features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant" (Barth 1969: 14), while the boundaries between groups are those which are subjectively recognised. The obvious limitation for the archaeologist is how to recognise a self-conscious ascription to a certain group, not having a direct access to the people of the past.

Emberling (1997: 300) substitutes the term "boundaries" as used by Barth with "differences", in order to avoid the idea of a clear-cut separation between groups and the too strict physical sense (boundary as container, separation, etc.) implied in the term. On the other hand he embraces the concept of ethnicity as a process of identification and differentiation, rather than as an inherent attribute, that can be transformed and manipulated according to the political and social context or a change in the situation. Although one of the distinctive traits usually recognised in the concept of ethnicity is the idea of kinship; however, ethnic groups do not trace descent from a single ancestor as lineages and clans do, as ethnicity constitutes a much larger concept that includes members of more than one lineage, clan or extended family. Shennan also suggests that ethnicity "should refer to self-conscious identification with a particular social group at least partly based on a specific locality or origin" (Shennan 1989: 14), while Bentley (1987), using a theoretical perspective derived from the work of Bourdieu (1977), argues that this process of identification arises from similarities in *habitus*, which can be considered a common cultural background developed through practice.

The concept of cultural identity and ethnicity was also adopted to explore the political dynamics within early states and empires. In several cases the formation of ethnicity has been related with the development of early states (Shennan 1989: 15). New ethnic groups can form at the margins of recently formed political units after the conquest as a mean of resistance or due to a specific strategy of control by the state, implemented with the increase of cultural differences. Wells (1999), for example, tries to overcome the traditional view of the Roman frontier in northern Europe as an area populated by those ethnic groups recorded in the official Roman histories and later integrated into the empire with a gradual assimilation of the colonists' culture. He questions the assumption that these tribes were social and political entities developed

over a long period of time, suggesting that they might have formed *in response* to Roman incursions as a form of resistance (ibid.: 33). The same phenomenon can apply in contexts of resettlement or movement of peoples that tend to emphasise their own cultural identities in the new area or in the process of urbanisation.

The maintenance or suppression of ethnicities in these contexts can be part of the state's strategies although it might vary according to the class concerned: elite can have privileged relations with the state or can reorganise itself in new forms. The maintenance of a group identity, on the other hand, can be related to specific social and economic advantages or to the particular meaning attached to affiliation. In this regard the control of ideology and the production and maintenance of symbols is fundamental for the new social and political relationships, which can or cannot coincide with ethnic affiliation.

1.1.2 Border areas as places of interaction

Border areas and frontiers can be rightly considered preferential zones for the study of the development, transformation and redefinition of cultural identities; they are zones with potentially the most visible and active interactions between different groups of people, and where a continuous process of construction, negotiation and manipulation of identities actively take place (Green-Perlman 1985: 9-10, Lightfoot 1995: 474). The same concept of "frontier" and "border", usually referring to an area between two different cultures or groups of people, has recently been adopted to indicate a dynamic and changing environment, a zone of cultural interfaces, where different groups, characterised by specific needs, backgrounds, beliefs, customs, might interact and eventually build up new cultural constructs. In this perspective the old definitions of "frontier", "periphery", "border" have appeared outdated and too restrictive. For example, the idea of political, ethnic or cultural boundaries as sharp demarcations between different entities has been dismissed in the light of ethnoarchaeological research (Hodder 1978, 1982a), as well as the assumption that political boundaries are barriers to interaction, demarcating clear diffusion patterns at the edges of discrete polities (Cherry 1987:156). New models have been developed to explain frontiers and boundaries in archaeological contexts as areas of intersocietal contacts, not unilaterally connected with a political or geographical centre. These

approaches have challenged the interpretation of frontiers *in relation to* a centre or a "core", as proposed by previous studies on world systems (Hudson 1969, Wallerstein 1974) or core-periphery relations (Champion 1989, Cherry 1987, Hirth 1978, Hodges 1987, Larsen 1987, Rowlands 1987, Smith 1976). Most of these studies are focussed on issues such as the degree of integration into a core-culture of newly assimilated territories or groups of local people, on problems of boundary maintenance, territorial expansion or resources exploitation, or on the economic relations and exchange with the centre. All these aspects obviously take part in the formation and development of the frontiers, but tend to give a unilinear perception of the dynamics involved largely neglecting the importance of other factors. The basic failure was not to consider the nature and changing dimensions of the agents involved in the process of culture contact or political expansion. The conceptual distinction between centre and periphery has instead led to the perception of frontiers as markers or cultural barriers between colonial and non-colonial territories, or immigrants and local people. The cultural interaction existent in a border area or the relationship between conquerors and indigenous people is either neglected or interpreted in terms of a unilinear process of acculturation, involving the passive assimilation of traits from the dominant culture by groups of local peoples in a gradual process of acculturation. In this approach, local or "subject" cultures are believed to lose their peculiar characteristics and to be directly absorbed into a largely uniform and centralised cultural system, leaving aside their possible active role in the shaping or transformation of the existent cultural constructs. Differences in language, religion, ethnicity and culture in structuring relations are also dismissed as not directly relevant (Schortman-Urban 1992: 18). The entire phenomenon can be defined as a gradual and continuous process toward cultural homogeneity and standardisation; words as "romanisation", applied to the expansion of the Roman Empire, or "sinification", adopted for the process of formation of the Qin and Han dynasties, reflect the same centralistic idea of the gradual absorption of different regional variations by the dominant culture.

However, especially in ancient times, when the political and administrative organisation of centralised complex societies was much looser than the current division into national states, the periphery represented a highly mobile area where processes of cultural interactions and social dynamics were particularly active. These not only refer to significant changes in the economic and social organisation of the region, due to possibly new forms of exploitation, exchange, administrative

organisation, but also to fundamental processes of negotiation and adjustments in terms of cultural and eventually ethnic identities. These factors, far from being marginal to the more "visible" processes of military conquest, environmental adaptation and demographic changes, often provide essential insights to understand how a society was shaped in one way or another by significant choices made at different levels by groups of people or individuals. At this regard, the adoption of an analytical perspective which emphasises the processes of construction and transformation of cultural and ethnic identities within these areas can produce new insights either on the specificity of social changes in the periphery, and on the more general problem of the dynamics and significant factors leading to the construction and change of cultural and social differences.

This new concern is having a clear development in the American tradition of "culture contact studies", applied in post-colonial areas and urban peripheries in America as well as in ancient empires (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995, Wells 1999), which tries to overcome the expectation of sharp boundaries in the material culture of indigenous and colonial populations, suggesting the need of analysing overlapping and cross-cutting groups and boundaries, associated by specific social, economic, ethnic or cultural factors, at different temporal and spatial scales of analysis (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 488). Various interactions between groups in terms of alliances, negotiations, interethnic relations continuously cross-cut the simple opposition between natives and colonists, thus making the frontier an active agent in the transformation and creation of culture. The same dominant culture is not in itself an unchanging and uniform entity, but can be characterised by strong variations and internal contradictions; specifically, the conquerors, although representatives of a certain culture, would probably adjust their cultural behaviour to the new context or be influenced by it. The periphery or border areas are not static realities, too; differences in environmental constraints, ethnicity, economic strategies, social organisation, cultural behaviour, exposure to different cultures can all affect the interaction with new groups of people and eventually lead to specific forms of adjustments, not necessarily similar even between very close areas.

The basic assumption of this perspective is thus considering the frontier areas as spaces of interaction, "regions" in themselves with distinctive dynamics and continuous internal changes. In this perspective, the identification of significant traits that can express the existence of cultural and ethnic identities in an area and their

modification through time becomes central in order to understand the dynamics involved in a context of culture contact. This is an especially important point as it directly questions the traditional approaches of the culture-historical and diffusionist school, which tend to equate the patterns of spatial variation of archaeological material with discrete and well defined "archaeological cultures", further identified with specific groups of people. New perspectives heading towards this direction were significantly discussed also in some contributions, which still partly adopt a centre-periphery model. For example, Stoddart (1989) argues that the emergence of Etruscan society was not necessarily linked with a Greek centre but to a more diffused centre including Etruscans and Phoenicians; Whitehouse and Wilkins (1989) question the notion of hellenisation as regard southern Italy, while the problem of a different degree of acculturation is also proposed by Bartel (1989) for the variety of policies adopted by the Romans during their expansion into Serbia according to the different economic and strategic importance of the various zones.

From the above discussion it is clear that cultural and ethnic identity constitute significant and powerful factors in processes of social dynamics, as they are directly linked with the agents of change, their perception of reality, their mutual interaction, and their different attitudes and choices in social life. In this regard, an evaluation of what a "cultural identity" is in a specific context and time thus becomes a necessary and unavoidable part in order to detect the dynamics of a social group. This perspective does not exclude the active role played by other factors, such as economic needs or environmental constraints, in processes of social dynamics, but tries to give more relevance to issues of cultural and ethnic identity in order to enlarge and strengthen the evaluation and interpretation of material culture variability, especially in a context where culture interactions are particularly strong and dynamic. This perspective will possibly facilitate the identification of crosscutting and overlapping social groups, not necessarily linked by an ethnic affiliation but by other factors, such as status or common ritual practices. As the main concern is to detect the dynamics of construction and transformation of cultural identities, the adoption of a diachronic perspective, as suggested for example by the Annales School, is considered essential in order to detect and interpret the spatial and temporal variability of the archaeological remains.

1.2 FUNERARY ARCHAEOLOGY: THEORIES AND METHODS

The dataset used in this study is composed of a sample of burials and their grave goods. Mortuary remains are one of the most significant sources of information on past societies, being connected with their social composition, ideology and symbolism. In the cultural-historical perspective, which is still largely supported in China, burial remains are considered one aspect of the material culture of a specific group and the expression of a "pattern of behaviour" shared by all members of a society; similarities and differences in the funerary remains are thus explained with the existence of distinct "archaeological cultures" and groups of people. In the western tradition of archaeological studies the social dimension of funerary practices was particularly emphasised by the processualist school since the '60s, while a new concern for the symbolic and ideological aspect of the mortuary rituals has been developed since the '80s by a variety of studies generally called post-processualist.

1.2.1 The social dimension of funerary practice

Mortuary remains have often been connected to the social composition and hierarchical organisation of past societies. Since the 1960s an increased interest in the social dimension of funerary practices was developed within the processualist tradition: the studies of Arthur A. Saxe (1970), Lewis R.Binford (1972), Lynne Goldstein (1981), Joseph A.Tainter (Tainter and Cordy 1977, Tainter 1978) and John O`Shea (1981, 1984, 1995) were devoted to the subject, trying to infer general theories, models and regularities between the social organisation of a society and its funerary remains. In arguing the existence of a close relationship between mortuary variability and structural organisation of a society, Arthur A. Saxe was the first to introduce from the field of "role theory" (Goodenough 1965) the concepts of *social identity* and *social persona* (Saxe 1970). He particularly emphasised their relevance at the time of death, when the mortuary treatment of the deceased has to be appropriate to his/her *social persona*. Lewis R. Binford, further developing this concept, defines the *social persona* as a "composite of the social identities maintained in life and recognised as appropriate for consideration after death" (Binford 1972: 17), and introduces the idea of *social unity*, necessary to bestow a specific status and rank to the deceased. Like Saxe, he also sees regularities between the social complexity of a

society, identified in the subsistence practice of a society (hunter-gatherers, settled agriculturalist, etc.) and differentiation/complexity of mortuary treatment. Joseph A. Tainter also adopted the concept of "social persona" as the composite of someone's statuses (Tainter 1977: 331-32).

The common assumption underlining these studies is that the funerary treatment has a *direct* relationship to an individual`s status in life and that mortuary differentiation and complexity is *directly* dependant on the hierarchical organisation of a society. The variables selected as indicators of the status and rank of the deceased came from the analysis of individual tombs and cemeteries: the form and size of the burial, its location, the quantity and quality of grave goods, the treatment and disposal of the corpse (Binford 1972: 21; Goldstein 1981: 59). Quantitative and qualitative differences between burial assemblages within a site or at an intra-site level, the relative position of the tombs or the variability in age and sex were also taken into consideration. The wealth, considered one important indicator of rank, was calculated with reference to the use of luxury or exotic/imported funerary goods, seen as symbols of authority and prestige. The quantification of these variables was undertaken through a wide range of statistical methods which aimed to classify and analyse the components and variables of the mortuary domain in relation to social ranking. Saxe suggested that "within a given domain personae of lesser significance tend to manifest fewer positive components in their significata relative to others, and conversely" (Saxe 1970: 69). This idea was also shared by Binford, who stressed the positive relationship between an individual`s status and the amount of activities involved in the mortuary ritual (Saxe 1972), and especially by Tainter, who proposed to calculate the energy expenditure for the burial rite as a means to determine the status of the deceased (Tainter 1978). In this latter application, however, the problem remains of how to calculate energy expenditure from the performing of the ritual and how to compare energy values consumed for various material and processes (Wason 1994: 77-78; Brown 1981: 29). Furthermore, although providing an idea of the degree of social complexity in a society, it does not give any indication of what status and rank really means in a specific context (Wason 1994: 79-80).

The spatial location and distribution of the funerary remains was also discussed in relation with the social affiliation of the deceased. After his ethnographic study, Arthur A. Saxe argued that the existence of formal disposal areas was in most cases associated to corporate groups or descent groups and to their control over

limited resources. He summarised his hypothesis as follows: "to the degree that the corporate group's rights to use and/or control crucial or restricted resources are attained and/or legitimised by means of lineal descent from the dead (i.e. lineal ties to ancestors), such groups will maintain formal disposal areas for exclusive disposal of their dead, and conversely" (Saxe 1970: 119). Goldstein revised Saxe's hypothesis, suggesting that the maintenance of a formal disposal area was only "one of the means of ritualisation" used by corporate groups to reaffirm their lineal descent and their right to restricted resources (Goldstein 1981: 61). Ian Morris also embraced the idea of a link between cemeteries and property/resources, but adapting and refining the model to the social system under study. He argued that in classical Athens (V-IV cent. BC) the construction of formal, bounded cemetery was a symbol of descent and membership in the *citizen* body, which also had the monopoly of the land and of the political activities. In Imperial Rome, on the other hand, mortuary rituals tended to create differences between poor and wealthy aristocrats both part of the Roman citizenship (Morris 1992).

The interpretative models proposed in these studies were all sustained by ethnographical parallels, which were necessary in order to test hypothesis and to infer the existence of general patterns of behaviour, especially if lacking related written records. The limitations of these attempts with reference to mortuary behaviour have been discussed at lenght by Peter Ucko who stressed how the ethnographical parallels could often not correspond to the predictive models, showing instead a high degree of variability, internal differentiation and unpredictable patterning (Ucko 1969). For example, the absence or paucity of grave goods does not necessarily mean lack of afterworld beliefs (ibid.: 265) or low level of material wealth (ibid.: 267), and in any case the real value of goods has necessarily to be tested against the parameters of evaluation in each specific culture. The importance of the mortuary ritual as an expression of status and rank can also vary according to the context, and major status differences are not necessarily marked by elaborate funerary practices (Wason 1994: 80). The real limit of some applications presented above was the risk in creating general normative models, which tackle only a particular aspect of the problem and can hardly explain all the variables playing a role during mortuary rituals. The use of ethnographic parallels also tended to be generalised and unable to cover all the variations involved in the data (McHugh 1999: 12). The importance of these studies, however, lays in the attempt to give resonance to the social dimension of funerary

practices and to find ways of quantifying all the significant indicators of wealth, status and rank.

1.2.2 Ideology, symbolism and burial practice

An evaluation of the multiple factors affecting mortuary practices was undertaken by those studies, generally labelled as post-processualist, which criticised the use of general cross-cultural models to favour the analysis of specific cultural contexts. Ian Hodder was one of the first critics of the processual approach, using his ethnographic studies on Nuba burials as a case which could hardly be analysed with the model proposed by Saxe (Hodder 1980). In his opinion Saxe's hypothesis "not only present a relative passive view of society, but also, and more clearly, it disregards the cultural context so central to ideology and ideological functions" (Hodder 1984: 53). One of the main limits of the processual approach was seen in the removal of the evidence from its cultural and historical context, with a consequent loss of information, and in the inability to interpret the variability of the evidence. In another case, referring to the Neolithic megalithics in Central and Western Europe, Hodder criticised the accepted interpretation of the monuments as 'territorial markers', and as means to legitimise the access to restricted resources in a period of social stress, considering the hypothesis as a 'generalisation' proposed by the processual approach (ibid.). In fact, he did not reject a social interpretation of the monuments, but the use of a model which did not take into account their possible cultural and symbolic significance. The identification of the symbolic *meaning* of material culture is considered necessary in order to understand its real function within the social processes (ibd.: 53). The importance of detecting an 'active' relation between material culture, symbolism and social processes was also recognised by Pader (1982) in her study of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. She suggested that the existence of a large variety of possible behavioural choices within a society prevents in itself the possibility that to a specific choice (i.e. kind of burial) corresponds an *a priori* conceptualised social or economic pattern (i.e. wealth = high rank). Furthermore material culture is seen not only as a 'residue' of a specific behaviour, but as a factor constantly influencing social action and ideology: "...material culture is indeed an integral part of the total societal context and as such plays a critical role in the creation and recreation, interpretation

and reinterpretation of society" (Pader 1982: 35). Objects can have a different symbolic meaning according to the context of use or the social context of which they are part; they influence world views and at the same time may be affected by them (ibd.: 198). The same view is taken by Morris, who in defining the concept of rituals believes that they do not merely 'reflect' social reality, but 'create' roles and relationships (Morris 1992: 2).

As already stressed, burial remains form a distinct kind of material culture, embodying a complex variety of social, cultural and symbolic factors of a specific society and, at the same time, being the 'visible' remains of a ritual activity, and not necessarily the most important part. Only some parts of a funerary practice can actually produce a material residue (Bartel 1982: 54; Morris 1992: 13). Parker Pearson has stressed how the archaeological evidence is made of specific symbolic associations or relations, expressed in material forms (Parker Pearson 1982: 110). He includes the spatial location of the dead in relation to the living, the different physical abode of the dead and the living, the choice of the artefacts to be buried (used by the living or strictly conceived for the dead), and the relation between different parts of the mortuary complex (burials, shrine). This complexity of meanings and associations can not always be detected by the archaeologist; some other important aspects of the mortuary practices may not be appear at all in the funerary remains, such as items used in rituals but not buried or the complete lack of evidence in case of special burials like the Tibetan ones. Furthermore, ritual practices or mortuary evidence do not necessarily reflect a social reality, but, on the contrary, they may often distort or idealise social relationships (Voutsaki 1995: 56; Hodder 1992: 150-54); they might embody hopes, aspirations, claims on status rather than actual social divisions or offer an idealised representation of a group or a community. In this regard we can find the wealthy freedmen, marginal social figures in Imperial Rome, who tried to acquire status through the display of sumptuous funerary structures (Voutsaki 1995: 57), as well as the use of the Lodagaa in order to dress the corpse of the deceased as a chief or a wealthy merchant regardless of his/her social position in life (Parker Pearson 1982: 101).

Burial practices can be used to express a particular ideology or to reaffirm ties and relationships; material remains can thus be seen as embodying and transmitting thoughts and ideas. As stressed by Parker Pearson, material culture "does embody concepts but in a tacit and non-discursive way, unlike writing or speech" (Parker

Pearson 1982: 100); Hodder on the other hand recognises an "iconic" dimension to material culture (Hodder 1991: 176-77). As already seen, the social or power relations displayed in mortuary rituals do not necessarily reflect the real organisation of society, but they can represent ongoing social strategies. In a neo-Marxist interpretation of mortuary practices in modern and Victorian England, Parker Pearson stresses how the construction of monumental structures commemorating the dead acquired a strong social and ideological function, which made public and clearly represented to the community specific hierarchies and power relationships (Parker Pearson 1982: 101). The past can be used and manipulated by the living in order to maintain or legitimise their position in front of the community, or to naturalise or mystify relations of inequality (ibid.: 112). Although Parker Pearson's specific interpretation of burials in Victorian and modern times was subject to criticism (Morris 1992: 39), his approach has been shared by other scholars like Shanks and Tilley, who define mortuary rituals as "an active part of the social construction of reality within social formations and [...] as a particular form of the ideological legitimisation of the social order, serving sectional interests of particular groups" (Shanks and Tilley 1982: 130). James Powers also held a close perspective in his analysis of Han funerary art seen as a means for political legitimisation and recognition (Powers 1991) and by John Chapman in his study of Hungarian prehistoric communities (Chapman 2000).

According to De Marrais, "ideology is as much the material means to communicate and manipulate ideas as it is the ideas themselves" (De Marrais 1996: 16); ceremonies, portable objects, and monuments can all be materialised forms of an ideology and be responsible of the transmission of ideas and meanings. The control of such forms by a group might have a direct response on its power and hegemony. As previously stated, however, social structure/relationships are not directly reflected in the archaeological record and this is also true for those forms usually associated with the display of power. Morris also stresses the difficulties in actually grasping the character of ideology from the archaeological record (Morris 1987: 41). Sophia Voutsaki has pointed out that the same idea of 'wealth' might not be directly associated with an expression of power: "wealth needs to be transformed into prestige and authority through its ostentious disposal..." (Voutsaki 1995: 59), thus re-addressing the problem of the changing symbolism within material culture.

The recognition of a possible misrepresentation of rank, wealth and power in the funerary domain and the denial of a direct relationship between social structure and mortuary behaviour are the significant advances of the post-processual studies. However, the possibility that ideological manipulation affected the burial domain in many different aspects does not imply that this is always the case (McHugh 1999: 17). The real difficulty instead is to recognise the different attitudes towards mortuary practices in various contexts and to what extent ideological misrepresentation can play a role in each individual case.

The inherent complexity of the mortuary remains and their symbolic or ideological implications do not prevent making social inferences from burials; in fact, the ethnographic analysis of mortuary practices in various societies has shown that the physical grave and its content, even if representing only a small portion of the ritual, can still convey relevant information on the social identity and affiliation of the deceased (Bartel 1982: 55) and can give insights into the type of ranking system of a society, for example an achieved or unstable ranking as opposed to a stable, culturally-accepted ascription (Wason 1994: 84-86). In a study devoted to the theoretical and methodological approaches of funerary archaeology Feldore McHugh explores the four major social dimensions affecting the burial: age, gender, horizontal division (clan, descent groups or lineages, ethnic groups, religious groups) and vertical division (rank, wealth), emphasising how all these domains are not self-contained units but continuously cross-cutting in social practice (McHugh 1999). He also stresses the need to combine ethnographic, archaeological and historical sources to define the social and cultural background where the mortuary practices take place in order to limit the risk of addressing only one aspect of the funerary dimension.

1.2.3 Archaeological applications to the study of identity

The idea of cross-cutting social groups which can be variously manifested in the mortuary remains bring us back to the first section of this chapter devoted to the concept of "identity". Although the privileged diachronic perspective of archaeology can have the particular advantage, if applied in a specific context, to look at cultural and social processes over time and at dynamics of formation and change of ethnic, social and cultural groups (Emberling 1997: 296), the difficulty in detecting a variety

of identities from the variability of the archaeological remains still remains fierce since the same concepts involved (identities, social groups) are not themselves fixed and clear-cut. Cultural and social differences can be perceived and valued at various levels by individuals or groups and eventually have very different material expressions, if any; they can crosscut each other, or develop along different lines. On the other hand identified differences and boundaries in material remains may not be directly related to social, cultural or ethnic distinctions; some items of material culture can be significant within identity-conscious groups, some others can be used in between-group interaction, and some do not convey any cultural or ethnic meaning at all. The real object of analysis when dealing with material culture variations are thus specific aspects of a more complex network of interaction and "social practice" between not discrete, and often arbitrarily defined, groups. In most archaeological applications the same general concept of identity (cultural, social, ethnic) needs to be closely defined and contextualised. Emberling, discussing the problem of ethnic identity, clearly points out that "the problem for archaeologists is to identify which characteristics would have been socially meaningful in a particular social situation, and which were unimportant... and to consider which non-material characteristics might have been important to ethnic identity, and how they would be visible in archaeological remains" (Emberling 1997: 311). It thus seems important to understand what kind of meaning the recurrence of certain stylistic or typological traits can convey: expression of differences in status, wealth, clan affiliation, gender, age, or ethnic group.

Various attempts in identifying the "boundaries" between cultural or ethnic groups were made through spatial analysis (Hodder and Orton 1976, Hodder 1982a), or using a method based on the degree of similarity (Voss 1987); however, these studies did not define the nature of the social or political groups thus enclosed, since they were more concerned in identifying regional boundaries. Other attempts were made by Graves (1994) with a measurement of differences and homogeneity, and Emberling (1995) who used a measure of redundancy, based on the assumption that the comparison of the distribution of multiple categories of material culture (items and stylistic traits) could give a greater likelihood of locating significant social and ethnic boundaries.

Further attempts in defining cultural and social identities have developed through the application of the concept of "style" (Carr and Neitzel 1995, Conkey and

Hastorf 1990a, 1990b, Hegmon 1992), which can be considered a distinctive material culture variation. An intense debate has developed in the past few years trying to define style in its different facets. Binford considered stylistic variations as residual or additional formal traits and related them to problems of ethnic origin, migration, interaction (Binford 1962: 220, cit. in Jones 1997: 111). A more refined functionalist approach is implied in the idea of "isochrestic variation", which considers the use of style as one of the many choices, learned or socially transmitted within an ethnic context, an artisan can make with the same functional end (Sackett 1977). In this perspective, style is still seen as a passive and unconscious component of material culture. A similar approach has been taken by Franklin with the idea of stochastic style applied to rock-art in Australia, where style is regarded as the result of unconscious behaviour and variations in material culture are associated to social interactions or exchange between groups more than being explicit markers of self-conscious ethnic groups (Franklin 1989). These approaches have been contrasted with the one developed by Wiessner (1983, 1985), following the information exchange theory of Wobst (1977), who considers style as a means of symbolic and social information, developed both at the level of group identity (emblemic style) or individual identity (assertive style). In this interpretation style is a conscious expression of ethnic or social boundaries, and can be actively used in the process of negotiation and mediation between groups. Wiessner also points out that isochrestic variation can arise when no great importance is attached to a particular object or style (Wiessner 1989), thus trying to combine the two different perspectives (emblemic/assertive vs. isochrestic style) in a single concept. The idea of an "active" style has also been developed by Hodder (1982a), who argued that material culture differences can be used in specific adaptive strategies and in the negotiation of social relations; evidence of variability can thus be informative on social intergroup processes such as the degree and nature of competition.

The technological aspect of material culture has also been adopted as a significant indicator of the existence of social and cultural groups (Stark 1998). Under this perspective, technical choices are not neutral or simply determined by environmental constraints, but imply the existence of socially informed or transmitted actions. Various contributions all suggest the need to examine both stylistic and technological aspects, going beyond the artificial distinction between style, technology and function, in order to understand the social dimension of material

culture and the processes of formation, expression and reproduction of cultural identities.

The analysis of variability in a funerary context, which can be considered a special arena for the expression and negotiation of identities, include a number of variables which were identified as significant indicators of a specific social and cultural context. They were summarised in the age and sex of the deceased, in the variation of quantity and types of grave goods, in the grave shape and in the spatial relationship with other burials (Wason 1994: 87-102). All these aspects can be variously linked to the vertical (rank, wealth) and the horizontal (clan, lineage, ethnic group, etc.) dimensions mentioned above, with frequent cross-cutting between all the elements under analysis. For the present study I specifically used the data concerning the burial types, and the quantity and typological variation of the grave good assemblages, since information on the sex and age of the deceased were rarely available.

1.3 THE CASE OF PRE-IMPERIAL AND EARLY IMPERIAL SICHUAN

The case of Sichuan between the V and I cent BC, corresponding to the period of the Warring States (458-221 BC), Qin dynasty (221-207 BC) and Western Han dynasty (206 BC-9 AD), offers an interesting example to discuss on the one hand the concept of "identity" as opposed to the idea of "archaeological culture", and on the other hand to explore the dynamics of change of different social and cultural groups over time and space and the visibility of this process in the spatial and temporal variability of the mortuary remains in the region. The historical sources mainly constituted by Qin and Han imperial records and by more ancient historical chronicles (see chapter 2), do not give much detailed information on the territory corresponding to modern Sichuan during the pre-imperial period. According to these sources the area was divided since at least the beginning of the Eastern Zhou period (VIII cent. BC) by two political entities, respectively in western and eastern Sichuan: Shu, with Chengdu as its capital, and Ba centred in Chongqing. During the Warring States period the area of the Ba state was located at the border of the Chu state, which was in the region of modern Hunan and Hubei. The Shu state was located at the border of the Qin state, which eventually conquered its territory around 316 BC. Between the V and IV

century BC the area of modern Sichuan was the arena for various military, political and economic interactions between these political entities. The whole area, comprising the ancient territories of Shu, Ba and Chu, together with other regions in China, was unified under the Qin dynasty in 221 BC, and successively conquered by the Han dynasty in 206 BC, becoming one of the peripheral prefectures of the empire.

The culture-historical approach in Chinese archaeology, as already noted, has been largely influenced by a strong historiographical tradition that still influences and drives archaeological interpretation. In the case of pre-imperial and early imperial Sichuan, the distinction between Ba, Shu, Chu and Qin, made by the historical sources on the basis of specific political concerns, was largely adopted in the interpretation of archaeological remains in the region and of their formal and typological variations, thus implying the existence of archaeological cultures associated with a geographic place and its inhabitants. The material culture dated from the Warring States period to the beginning of the Han dynasty, mainly composed of burials and their grave goods, has often been analysed with reference to specific traits which could be associated with distinct "archaeological cultures" (Ba, Shu, Qin, Han) and to their peoples, and located in specific geographical areas. Furthermore, the much more complex picture in terms of variability and overlapping of typological and stylistic traits and the difficulty in disentangling all the different variables have lead to the adoption of another generic and comprehensive term, "Ba-Shu" culture, wherever specific features believed to be related to Ba and Shu were found together. The justification for this name also derived from written sources, since they record a migration of Ba people into northern and western Sichuan, traditionally occupied by the Shu. The use of the term "Ba" and "Shu" culture or "Ba-Shu" culture have been recently substituted by other terms of reference (Sun 2000, discussed in chapter 2), although archaeological reports and academic studies still largely adopt these terms to describe assemblages of grave goods and their formal and stylistic attributes[1].

The cultural-historical approach so far described has been largely misleading, as it has directed the interpretation of the archaeological record towards the identification of large archaeological complexes or "cultures", obscuring or neglecting the existence of social, cultural and possibly ethnic groups that were most probably

[1] The recent administrative separation between the Province of Sichuan, with capital Chengdu, and the autonomous Municipality of Chongqing, corresponding to the eastern part of the region, has also led to an

interacting during this period. The changes or composite patterns of the archaeological material have thus been interpreted with causal factors such as conquests, invasions, and migrations of people or detecting a process of gradual integration or "sinification" of the local "Ba-Shu" cultures into the imperial Qin/Han system. Such a perspective has been largely influenced not only by a strong historiographical tradition and by the culture-historical approach usually adopted in China, but also by a general trend in Chinese and Western historical and archaeological studies which look at the Warring States period as a phase characterised by the flourishing of local kingdoms and preceding the formation of a "multi-cultural" and unifying *Chinese* empire. More emphasis has been given in the description of the regional cultures developed in various areas of China and at their peculiar local traits, while less attention has been granted to the interaction between all the social and probably ethnic groups involved in this long process of change from local kingdoms to the formation of the empire.

Pre-imperial and early-imperial Sichuan offers instead a quite complex scenario of social change that involved various different groups: local elites, groups of immigrants (soldiers, peasants, high rank classes), warriors and local peasants. The policy of political and cultural integration started by the Qin after the formation of the Empire in 221 BC was only one final aspect of a more complex process, which had taken place at the local level also in earlier periods. Although the written sources record that the ancient states of Ba and Shu were integrated into the empire at a very early stage, it is not clear how this claimed "integration" effectively took place, to what extent and involving what social groups. The same idea that a new "dominant" system was drastically imposed on local cultures in the newly assimilated territories is highly debatable. It is not possible to consider the "Qin culture" as a self-contained entity imposed into a new region, since the same material remains associated to the Qin show common traits with those excavated in the area of the ancient Chu state; we can instead argue that distinct social groups, possibly soldiers and a selected elite, coexisted with the local elite since the IV century BC. Local social groups, especially those more exposed to intercultural contacts, seemed to have undergone a process of redefining their own identity by selecting other status and prestige symbols as funerary items.

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increasing interest into the "ancient pasts" of the two administrative units in what we can consider a reflection of the more general trend towards a "regionalisation" of archaeology as discussed by von Falkenhausen (1995).

The analysis of mortuary customs, and specifically the adoption and association of distinct grave goods and burial types, will be used to investigate the existence and change of these different cultural and social groups (elite, immigrants, soldiers, etc.), their self-representation and mutual interaction. The first aim is not to identify those diagnostic attributes that can exclusively be related to cultural groups or people, like Ba, Shu, or Qin, but to explore a larger variety of items and their associations that might help in detecting other group identities and their interaction, and how they are characterised in different sites and at different times. The analysis will thus focuses on the distribution and association of formal burial features and grave good classes across the area and through time; specific attributes include the burial type and lay-out, classes or types of grave goods (pottery, bronze vessels and objects, weapons, ornaments, seals, iron and lacquer), and the decoration on bronze weapons. The basic premise is that the selection of specific attributes in the graves is not only the result of traditional practices transmitted through cultural affiliations, but it can vary according to the rank, social affiliation, provenance, and gender of the deceased, and it can be a conscious choice, especially in times of social and political change, in order to represent the affiliation to specific group (Wiessner1989). In this regard the adoption of distinct elements in the funerary practice (burial type, weapons, pottery classes) is considered a trait that can change over time, acquire a different value, or lose its original significance without being removed or completely rejected. The detection of the spatial variability of distinctive elements and their overlapping can thus help to clarify what kind of social and cultural groups were present in the area and possibly how they were interacting. The use of a diachronic analysis may also help to have a more comprehensive picture on how specific cultural traits were acquired or changed over time.

The theoretical framework informing this work, and presented in chapter 1, is followed by an introduction to the historical and archaeological background characterising the Sichuan region during the pre-Imperial and early Imperial period (V-I cent. BC) (chapter 2). This section considers the most relevant written sources referring to the historical events of the period, and it summarises recent contributions on the Late Bronze Age cultures of Sichuan; a brief outline of the archaeology of the region during the Warring States and early Imperial period introduces the relevance of the application of the concept of *identity* for the study of the material.

The third chapter presents the sites object of this study dividing them into four geographical areas (Chengdu city and Plain, north Sichuan, south-west Sichuan and south-east Sichuan) and outlining their main features and grave goods assemblages; a brief summary of the classification, attribution and dating provided in the reports is also given for each site.

Chapter 4 introduces the main attributes of analysis (burial types and grave goods) emphasising those diagnostic items that will be more specifically addressed in the following chapters. It first describes the recording system and database designed for this study and explains the classification applied to the whole dataset in order to create consistent typologies for each class of material and for the whole region. The same chapter also outlines the standard associations made by Chinese archaeologists for specific sets of items, thus introducing the main units of analysis that will be addressed, refined or reinterpreted in the following chapters.

Chapters 5 and 6 contain the results of the analysis conducted on a total number of 329 burials and 5932 grave goods, including 3053 pottery vessels, 984 bronze weapons, 456 bronze vessels, 441 bronze objects, 252 bronze ornaments, 137 glass/jade/bone/gold ornaments, 176 iron items, 315 lacquer objects and 118 bronze seals, further divided into the typological groups described in chapter 4. The aim of the analysis is to explore the mortuary customs of the region and within individual sites and to look at those diagnostic attributes (i.e. burial types and classes of grave goods) or aspects (i.e. selection, quantity and association of grave goods and burial types) that may be relevant to both refine and/or substitute the traditional interpretations based on cultural affiliations presented in chapter 4. The description and preliminary discussion of the analysis are divided into separate sections, each referring to a specific aspect and containing the relevant data used, the analysis undertaken and the description of the results. The first section looks at the quantity and types of grave goods in order to better explore the internal differentiation within burials; counts and averages made in Excel are the main technique, together with correspondence analysis (CA) used as a testing technique. The highlighted variations within the burials are expected to form a picture more articulated than the accepted cultural patterning (Ba, Shu, etc) and possibly associated to differences in social affiliation and status. The following sections make a closer look at individual categories and their associations with burials types: pottery, bronze weapons, and bronze weapons decoration, which are considered in this study the most significant

categories for characterising mortuary practices in the region. The patterns found in the distribution of these items and in their association with burial types will make the basis for testing the traditional interpretations based on cultural affiliations (Ba, Shu, etc.) made by previous studies, and for refining or reinterpreting them through the application of the concept of group identity defined by status, rank, provenance, gender. The different sets of analysis will be ordered in a structure proceeding from regional to local scale; in some cases individual sites will more closely be analysed, as in the case of the Shifang cemetery in the Chengdu Plain, the sites of Tongxincun, Nanluoba and Zengjiagou in the Yingjing area, and the Dongsunba cemetery in south-east Sichuan.

In chapter 7 I discuss the results of chapters 5 and 6 in connection with the theoretical framework on social and cultural identities outlined in chapter 1, emphasising the relevance of these concepts for the interpretation of the identified discontinuities in the archaeological record. Chapter 8 will summarise the relevance of this study within the existing literature on Sichuan archaeology and Ba-Shu culture, outlining the main contribution of the theoretical and methodological approach of my research.

CHAPTER 2

PRE-IMPERIAL AND EARLY IMPERIAL SICHUAN HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The present chapter will provide a cultural background of the area corresponding to modern Sichuan and traditionally associated to the ancient Ba and Shu states, focussing on the historical and archaeological material available for the period comprised between the V century BC and the I century BC (Warring States period to Western Han dynasty). During this period a process of transformation in the cultural and ethnic composition of the region can be detected both from the sparse historical sources but especially from the existing archaeological remains, mainly constituted by burials and grave goods. The dynamics of this process are particularly interesting as they developed in a period of intense social changes, such as the development and transformation of distinct local cultures and the later colonisation of the Qin and Han dynasties, and in an area peculiarly exposed to intercultural contacts and exchanges. The traditional association between artefact assemblages and "cultures" will be re-evaluated through a detailed analysis of the archaeological material in chapters 5 and 6.

2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The region of Sichuan, located in southwest China and close to the Tibetan plateau, covers a total surface of 200.000 sq.km. It is crossed by a network of rivers, among which the Min, Tuo, Fu and Jialing flow southwards into the Yangzi river and can be considered the most important (fig. 2.1). The name Sichuan, first encountered in Song chronicles of the XIII century, literary means "Four Streams" (*si-chuan*). From its topography the region can be divided into two major parts. The western area comprises part of western Sichuan and Eastern Tibet including the high mountains of the Tibet-Qinghai plateau with an average height of 3000 m and the valleys of Yalong and Dadu rivers. The eastern part comprises the Chengdu plain and the whole area bordered by the Qinling and Daba mountains in the north, the Wuling mountains on the east and the

plateau of northern Guizhou in the south; it was called the "Red Basin" by the geologist Friederich von Richtofen (1903), because of the high amount of red and yellow sandstone beneath the surface. The flattest part is the Chengdu plain, around 6000 sq.km in area, while the rest is characterised by various ranges of hills with an elevations spanning from 300 to 700 m above sea level. The mountains of the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau close the plain in the south, although mountain passes were used since ancient times to facilitate the communication between Sichuan and Yunnan.

The fertility of the land, especially in the Chengdu plain, a natural alluvial deposit irrigated by its major rivers Min and Tuo, the mildness and moist of the climate, as well as the richness of the soil resources, particularly salt, iron and natural gas, have given the region all through its history a high potential for a self-sufficient economy. The hydrographical system of the region has also been particularly advantageous for its economic development providing both rich water resources for agriculture and a convenient means of communication and transport. The Min, Tuo, Jialing rivers flow into the Yangzi river at Yibin, Luzhou, Chongqing respectively; the Yangzi river provides access to Guizhou, Guangxi and Guangdong and to the sea. Another major river is the Dadu, in the western part of the region, and the Han in the north-east. The construction of a large irrigation system at Dujiang on the Min river, north-west of Chengdu, in the IV cent. BC strongly intensified production in an already fertile area and was particularly important in the period preceding the formation of the Qin and Han dynasties, providing the economic basis (grain and means of communication) for sustaining the military campaigns of the Qin against its rival states (Sage 1992: 112-117, 142-146). The high productivity of the Chengdu plain also played a role in maintaining the political stability of the empire in periods of crisis and famines (ibid.:164-168).

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: WRITTEN SOURCES

The time span commonly known as Warring States is defined on the basis of historical sources and recorded political events. While the end of the era is commonly fixed at the year 221 BC with the foundation of the first Chinese empire under the Qin dynasty, there is still disagreement on the date of beginning, variously fixed at the years 481, 479, 475, 464 and 403 (von Falkenhausen 1999: 450), at the end of the so-called

Spring and Autumn period (770-481 BC). The period of the Eastern Zhou dynasty, so called after the transfer of the Zhou capital from Xian to Luoyang, which was located more to the east, due to the pressure of nomadic tribes along the western borders, covers the Spring and Autumn and part of the Warring States period. The earlier phase, the Spring and Autumn period, takes its name from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), the official chronicle of the state of Lu in Shandong, although it records events only from 722 to 481 BC, while the second phase, the Warring States period, is named after the *Discourses of the Warring States* (*Zhan guo ce*), a collection of theoretical treatises on the ideal system of alliances and government (Li 1985).

The period of the Eastern Zhou was characterised by the gradual decline of the centralised political power represented by the Zhou kings and exerted in the Central plain and neighbouring areas through a system of delegated sovereignity given to local elites, possibly linked with the Zhou by kinship ties, but more often having their own hereditary system. The control over these regions was based on a centralised administrative system and by a complex network of tributary and ceremonial obligations paid to the Zhou kings (Creel 1970: 317-416). During the V century the authority and political power of the local ruling elites grew progressively, leading to the formation of political entities with their own military and administrative systems, as well as expansionistic policies; the most influential ones were Qin, Chu, Yan, Han, Zhao and Wei.

The area of modern Sichuan was only rarely mentioned in written sources and in a more systematic way only after the V cent BC.; the area in itself acquired the use of a writing system only after the Qin conquest at the beginning of the III cent BC. The historical records for the Warring States period, already quite fragmentary and unsystematic (Loewe 1993), make mention of the "states" of Shu, located in the area of the Chengdu plain, and Ba, controlling the territories in eastern Sichuan, but nearly always in association with most influential states, such as Qin and Chu.

2.2.1 The origins: Shang-Western Zhou sources (XII-VIII cent. BC)

The character Shu 蜀 has been recognised in the inscriptions of some Shang oracle bones from Anyang dated to the late II millenium BC, and it has been used on the one hand to prove the historicity of a political, ethnic or cultural entity called Shu since

ancient times, on the other hand to prove the existence of contacts between the Shu and the Shang kings. The scholars supporting this perspective tried to identify the "early Shu culture" with the final phase of the Sanxingdui culture (Song 1997), which developed in Sichuan during the same period of the Shang dynasty (Sage 1992: 28-34) and to directly connect it with the Shu of the Warring States period.

Later reference to Shu is contained in the *Mu shi* chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚 书 (or *Shujing* 书 经, The Book of Documents) (*Shangshu* part V, book ii, par. 3-4 in Legge 1865-1872, vol. III: 301; Legge 1970: vol. III, 1-81), for which a secure date cannot be fixed. In the passage referring to the declaration made by the king Wu 武 of the Zhou at Mu 牧 (Henan) before his expedition against the Shang in 1045 BC, it is also said that the army was composed not only of subordinates and allies, but also of soldiers of Yong 雍 , Shu 蜀 , Qiang 羌 , Mao , Wei 微 , Lu , Peng 彭 and Pu 濮 . According to the commentaries and classical sources, they belonged to tribal groups or independent kingdoms settled at the south-western borders of the Empire but recognised the supremacy of the Zhou king; the Shu kingdom, probably centred around its capital, the modern Chengdu, can be considered one of the most important and influential political entities. The problem of the reliability of the events recorded in the *Shujing*, which collects various documents ordered and continuously revised until the Han dynasty, has been discussed by the Qing historiographers and the Western sinologists, leading to a selection of a limited number of texts considered reliable (Pokora 1973).

2.2.2 Eastern Zhou sources (VIII-III cent. BC)

The *Zhushu jinian* 竹 书 纪 年 , compiled during the Warring States period as the chronicle of the Wei state from its mythical origins until 299 BC, also records that the king Wu lead the western barbarians (*xi yi* 西 夷) against the Shang (Pulleyblank 1983: 422). As for the Ba kingdom, which had its capital in Chongqing, it is first mentioned for the year 711 BC (book VI, year xvi, par. 6 in Legge 1865-1872, vol. V, part I: 274-75) in the *Chunqiu* 春 秋 , which records in chronological order the historical events of the Lu state from 722 to 481 BC. It is generally accepted that since the VIII-VII century BC the Ba reign had contacts with Shu in the north-west and Chu in the east.

The references to Ba and Shu are more numerous in the sources treating the Warring States period, although they are extremely fragmented, not systematised and mainly compiled in a later period (Li 1985: 11). The *Zhanguoce* 战国策 (Crump 1996), compiled by Liu Xiang 刘向 (76-6 BC), librarian at the Han court, mentions Shu with reference to the Chengdu Plain, and Ba in connection with the eastern area of Sichuan around Chongqing; the events are chronologically ordered and presented in the form of dialogues between kings and their counsellors with explicit propagandistic and rhetorical aims (Crump 1996: 40-41; Pokora 1973: 27-28). The text was criticised by the official Confucian historiography since the Han dynasty, but especially in the occasion of its re-composition and re-edition during the Song dynasty, when it was labelled as a product of a "declining" age and with "unorthodox" teachings (Pokora 1973: 32). The *Zuozhuan* refers to the period between the Western Zhou and the Spring and Autumn when the Ba activities were located in the area between the Jiang and the Han river in Exi, having at the borders the states of Chu, Quan and Yong. During the Spring and Autumn period the Ba state allied with the Chu and had to go through its territories to have contacts with other states. Between the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods the Ba, still located between the Han and the Jiang river, started a war against the Chu; after a defeat the Ba eventually moved to eastern Sichuan, placing their centres in Pingdu (present Fengdu district), Jiangzhou (present Chongqing Yuzhong), Dianjiang (present Hechuan) and Lanzhong (Sun 2000: 44).

The existing records for the Warring States period thus mainly report military and territorial conquests: the area occupied by Ba and Shu was progressively conquered by the Qin state between 441 and 316 BC and unified into a single unit; Chu was annexed shortly after and in 221 BC the Qin dynasty was founded. No clear information is thus given on the pre-Qin social organisation and on the ethnic composition and cultural characteristics of these areas.

2.2. Han dynasty sources (III cent. BC-III cent AD)

The sources treating the imperial period of the Qin and Han dynasties, although more numerous, do not form an homogenous corpus and are often incomplete in the case of local realities or more marginal contexts if compared with the centre of the empire. The commanderies of Ba and Shu are scarcely mentioned in the first three

chronicles of the Imperial history of China: the *Shiji* 史 记 (Historical Records) of Sima Qian 司 马 迁 , the *Han shu* 汉 书 (Han History), and the *Hou Han shu* 后 汉 书 (History of the Late Han), and only when these references have a clear relevance for the Empire or the Ruling House. The *Shiji*, written by Sima Tan 司 马 谈 (110 BC) and his son Sima Qian (145-86 a.C.), was conceived as a universal history of China from the mythical origins until 100 BC (Chavannes 1895-1969; Watson 1961). The *Han shu* (Dubs 1938-55; Swann 1950) was written by Ban Gu 班 固 (32-92) who worked on an incomplete version written by his father Ban Biao 班 彪 (3-54 d.C.), with additions made by his sister Ban Zhao 班 昭 (48?-116?) and by Ma Xu 马 续 (?-141) and Liu Xin 刘 歆 (240-306). It is divided into four parts: annales (*ji* 记), charts (*biao* 表), treatises (*zhi* 志) and biographies (*liezhuan* 列 传), according to a structure inspired to the *Shiji* of Sima Qian, and is considered one of the most refined examples of an historical record within the official Chinese historiography and the model for subsequent dynastic chronicles. The text has however been the main object of debate among Western sinologists on the reliability and impartiality of the official historical sources (Dubs 1946, Bielenstein 1954, Hulsevé 1961, Leslie et al. 1973) and on the different conceptualisations of history in the Western and Chinese traditions (Sargent 1944; Dubs 1946). The official imperial histories were generally written by Confucian officers and destined for a public composed by officers and members of the political and administrative system of the Empire. According to the Confucian perspective, the task of the historian was to maintain an orthodoxy in the political and moral behaviour and to offer an ethical interpretation of the historical events which could guide the emperors. The same texts not only defined the right behaviour of the governor, but they were also strong channels of ideological and political propaganda used by the emperors to legitimise their position of power, thus influencing their historical reliability (ibid.). As for the peripheries of the Empire, they were generally excluded from the priorities of the official historiography, which was mainly oriented towards the centre of the Empire, unless the events were directly connected or relevant to the imperial policies. The official version of the chronicle thus offered only a partial and already biased interpretation of the events for peripheral realities. The *Hou Han Shu* can be considered the continuation of the *Han Shu*; it was compiled by Sima Biao 司 马 彪 (240-306) and Fan Ye 范 晔 (398-446) (Bielenstein 1954) but only a few sections have been translated (Wylie 1875).

Other sources include sparse chronicle accounts and mythological stories, such as those recorded in the *Shanhaijing* 山 海 经 (The book of the Seas and Mountains), whose date has been subject of considerable controversy, and the *Shu wang ben ji* (Genealogies of the Kings), written in the I cent BC. The lack of direct references on Sichuan is only partially counterbalanced by the *Huayang guozhi* 华 阳 国 志 [Chronicle of the kingdoms south of the mount Hua], a historical-geographic chronicle on northern Shanxi and southern Sichuan compiled by Chang Ju in 347 AD (Fong, 1940; Liu 1984) and extensively used to trace the local history of the region. The largely mythological content of the work, together with its successive revisions, invite caution regarding its reliability for the Warring States and Han periods.

2.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE CONTEXT

From the available sources regarding the Warring States and the Western Han dynasty we know that the period between the V and the I cent. BC was characterised by frequent movements of people, campaigns of expansion and wars of conquest involving the main political entities of the area: Qin, Chu, Ba and Shu. The border areas which were mostly affected by these events were northern Sichuan, close to modern Shaanxi and the upper river valleys of the Han and Wei rivers where the Qin kingdom was centred, and Eastern Sichuan, next to modern Hubei and the ancient Chu Kingdom. The written sources record various attempts by the Chu state to expand towards eastern Sichuan. During his reign the King Wei of Chu (339-329 BC) sent the general Zhuang Qiao to conquer Ba, Shu and other kingdoms to the south of the Yangzi; the general first reached Tianchi, which corresponds to modern Kunming in Yunnan, managing to subjugate the local people, but on his way back he found the territories of south-eastern Sichuan already conquered by the Qin armies, and was thus forced to go back to Yunnan. The Qin invasion was conducted through the Qingling mountains, from the city of Ningqiang in Shaanxi toward the Red Basin passing the cities of Guangyuan, Zhaohua and Jiange.

2.3.1 Qin period (IV-III cent. BC)

After the Qin conquest of Sichuan in 316 BC, the area corresponding to ancient Shu underwent an intense process of political and economic reorganisation, which involved the introduction of a new administrative and political system, the construction of roads and large irrigation plants and an intense plan of population relocation from central China to the Chengdu plain. This policy aimed to create a new province which could provide the necessary economic and military support for the expansionistic campaigns of the Qin reign. The process of establishing a firm strong-hold in the region was conducted during the following four decades, according to a strict plan of cultural and economic integration inspired by legalistic principles which implied a stable administration and an efficient system of control. The Shu region was destined to be a "political laboratory" (Sage 1992: 130) with experimental forms of local administration (a commandery) and of measures to be undertaken in order to assimilate different ethnic and social groups. The local nobility made various attempts to restore their privileged position and contrast the programme conceived by the Qin. In this regard, in order to facilitate the Qin rule and legitimise the occupation, the government of the newly formed Shu commandery (*jun*) was formally shared with the local Kaiming king, entitled marquis of Shu, and two Qin bureaucrats, who actually retained all the decision-making roles.

Important public works were built in crucial areas: the towns of Chengdu, Pi, Linqiong, all in the Chengdu plain, were fortified and the pits resulted from the excavation of the material transformed into fishing ponds according to the legalist principles of combining the needs of warfare with those of food production. A new road (Stone Cattle Road) was built through the Daba and Qingling fringes, connecting the Jialing to the Han river, in order to guarantee easy communication between the Qin capital Xianyang and the Chengdu plain. After the conquest of the Chu kingdom, another important public work project was undertaken by the governor Li Bing in the Chengdu plain, following the need for an efficient irrigation system which could exploit the waters of the Min river. The project led to the construction of the Dujiang dike, in the Guan district, which divided the Min into two rivers, each with many minor channels (Watson 1961: 99). These were used for shipping, irrigation of the fields and other activities, such as polishing rice, milling, spinning and weaving, which were undertaken with water power stations. The imperial chronicles record in enthusiastic

terms "hundreds of thousands" of channels, while the Chengdu plain began to be known as "sea on the land" (Qi 1963: 97). The project clearly aimed to create a rich and highly developed area which could be used as a "reservoir" for the Qin expansionistic policy.
An intense plan of mass relocation was also realised during the first years after the conquest; thousands of people, gathered from Qin or the newly conquered areas in the Central Plain, were relocated in Chengdu and given a specific area of settlement. The immigrants included soldiers, peasants, prisoners, but also a few merchants and aristocrats; for most of them the migration was compulsory, even if induced with the promise of land and wealth to be gained in the new province: the historical sources record that many were involved in salt extraction, iron smelting, mining of cinnabar. Extensive land reforms, which implied the division of land into small familiar units, was also undertaken as a means of population control. Little is however known about the relationships between communities of northern colonists and the local population. The archaeological evidence shows the coexistence of different cultural traditions in the Chengdu plain, but the degree of integration and mutual influence has never been closely explored.

The new economic system of the Qin also involved the introduction of cash into a trade system which was presumably based on barter. The adoption of Qin coins was one of the most visible effects of the political unification, especially in the more remote areas of Ba, in the south-east, where the conquest did not apparently involve such huge projects of reconstruction and relocation of people as in Shu. The ethnic composition and the local social organisation presumably also remained unchanged. During the same period the written sources suggest the migration of Shu people towards the south (Yunnan and Assam), together with the Bo and the Qiong, inhabiting respectively the areas of Yibin and Yichang in southern Sichuan (Wiens 1954).

2.3.2 Western Han dynasty (III-I cent BC)

During the Western Han dynasty the prefectures of Shu, Guanghan and Ba formed together a large administrative unit called *Yizhou*; Shu was the largest and most populated prefecture of the empire, and one of the few under a complete and direct imperial control. New irrigation plans favoured the agricultural activities in the Chengdu plain, while natural resources such as salt, natural gas, iron and copper were

increasingly exploited due to an intensification of trade and commerce. The Yangzi river was recognised as the southern border of the empire, although various military campaigns were conducted in southern and western Sichuan to acquire land and open new routes; the groups living in these areas were generally named "south-western barbarians"[1]. In the west the rivers Dadu and Yalong marked the borders with other ethnic groups, while the Qiang people were settled in the north-west. Only sparse information on the social organisation, ritual practices and economic activities of non-Han people are contained in the Han historical chronicles. In the same period migrations of local people, like the Bo and the Qiong, pushed into remote areas by the Qin invasion, or other Shu people, diverted to the Guangxi-Assam area, are recorded (Wiens 1954). However developed and assimilated to the Empire, the Shu prefecture was still considered a secure area to dispatch unwanted officers: in 206 BC four thousand titled families were sent in exile to Fangling.

The process of integrating the Ba state, in eastern Sichuan, was conducted with a different policy. During the III century the local aristocrats were maintained in power and the written sources did not record Qin officers in the highest positions of the Ba commandery; the ethnic composition of the population was not seriously affected as in Shu since no relocation of people was undertaken in the area. The existing social organization and the division of land presumably remained the same. This policy has also been explained with the existence of a much stronger tie with the Qin kingdom since the VIII century which made the process of integration less traumatic (Sage 1992: 140).

2.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

2.4.1 The first use of the "Ba-Shu" culture concept

The use of the term "Ba-Shu culture" for the funerary remains of the Warring States period is tightly linked to the mentions of Ba and Shu in the written records, which are however either strongly biased by the priorities or propaganda needs of the official imperial history or not reliable due to their mythological content. On the one

[1] The problem of the relationship between the Han empire and the frontiers has been addressed in a number of studies dealing with Han foreign policy and intercultural contacts (Gaspardone 1962;

hand the terms Ba and Shu, as presented in historical and mythological texts, have been widely applied to interpret the material culture of the region in an attempt to make sense of the recorded names, dates and ethnic groups and eventually to draw a distinction between the Ba and Shu cultures (Song 1998a). On the other hand the variety and overlapping of cultural elements detected in the archaeological record, although preventing any such simple generalisation, have traditionally been explained with processes of territorial expansion and migrations of people involving the same political entities recorded in written sources: Ba, Shu, Qin and Chu.

The term "Ba-Shu culture" was first adopted by Wei Xianjin (Wei 1941, 1943 cit. in Sun 2000: 2) after the discovery of a group of bronze vessels in Chengdu at the site of Baimasi Tanjunmiao 白马寺坛君庙 (ibid.). In 1954 two cemeteries, mainly composed of "boat-coffin" graves, were excavated in Baolunyuan in Zhaohua district (present Guangyuan municipality) (fig. 2.3.4) and Dongsunba in Ba district (fig. 2.3.17) and associated with the Ba-Shu culture and Ba people (SB 1960). The discovery was linked to the origin myth of the Ba people contained in the geographical text *Shuijingzhu* [Notes on the Classic of Waters] and in the *Hou Han Shu*. According to the legend, the Ba people were born in a red cave, while the people from the other four clans were delivered in a black cave, in an area identified as south-western Hubei; during a contest for the selection of a leader for the five clans one of the Ba members, Wuxiang, managed to build a clay boat and won the contest, getting eventually the title of Linjun 廪君 and chief of the Ba (Sage 1989: 50-51). In the light of this mythological story, the presence of boat coffins in north Sichuan was explained by Feng Hanji as evidence of the use of Ba army by the Qin state for the conquest of Shu (Feng et al. 1958: 94). A three-tiered platform of rammed earth discovered in Yangzishan (Chengdu) was also associated with the House of Duchou 杜宇 in the Ba state history and dated between the Western and Eastern Zhou dynasty (Sun 2000: 4).

In 1980 a pit containing bronze vessels and weapons was found at Zhuwajie in Peng district (fig. 2.3.8) and connected to the event recorded in the *Shangshu* 尚书 (*Shangshu* part V, book ii, parr. 3-4 in Legge 1865-1872, vol. III: 301; Legge 1970: 1-81) referring to the alliance of the Shu people with the first Zhou emperor Wu during the campaigns for the conquest of the last Shang king, Zhou. They were thus dated to the end of the Shang dynasty and believed to be buried between the Western

Pulleyblank 1983; Yang 1968; Yu 1967, 1986)

Zhou and the Spring and Autumn period (Wang Jiayou 1961; SB-PW 1981). To a period between the Shang and the Zhou dynasty was also dated the settlement of Shuiguanyin 水观音, discovered in Xinfan 新繁 district (present Xindu district) (fig. 2.3.10) in 1957-58, while the burials of the same site were attributed to a later phase, between the Western Zhou and the Spring and Autumn period (SB 1959a, Sun 2000: 4).

The term "Ba-Shu culture" has widely been used since these first discoveries to refer to the funerary bronze and pottery assemblages of the Sichuan basin dated to the Warring States period (V-III cent BC) or to the Qin and Western Han dynasty (III-I cent. BC). It has also been referred to as a tradition characterised by "the incidence of Ba objects and styles among those of Shu" (Sage 1989: 66) or one that generally has a combination of cultural elements from the Ba and Shu tradition which could not easily be separated into distinct units. These definitions have been conveniently used in order to include in a single and heterogeneous cultural complex the variety and discontinuities of the archaeological remains distributed over a quite large area and within a not yet clearly defined chronological sequence.

The term "Shu" has more "specifically" been applied to the production of the Chengdu Plain and connected to a geographic place (the Chengdu plain), to a distinct ethnic and cultural group or to the state of Shu (Sage 1989: 9). We have seen how it has been linked to a "proto-Shu culture", identified in the Sanxingdui culture, which developed between 2100 BC to the XI cent BC and was characterised in its later phase (III) by a distinctive and isolated production of bronze masks and statues (SWKY 1999) found in the site of Sanxingdui in Guanghan (fig. 2.3.7). The attempt to demonstrate the continuity of a local bronze culture in the region has however been contrasted by a peculiar gap in the chronological sequence between the XI century BC and the Spring and Autumn period, due to the lack of excavations in other areas of Sichuan and especially to the often unsystematic and arbitrary dating of existing material (von Falkenhausen 1996: 29). The term "Ba culture" is instead traditionally attributed to the sites located in eastern Sichuan and western Hunan and distributed along the banks of the Han and Jialing rivers and around Chongqing. Archaeologically, it has been associated with the "boat-coffin" burials and their bronze weapons that are characterised by tiger motifs and pictographic symbols. We mentioned above how the use in north-east Sichuan and around Chengdu of burial practices and objects usually associated with

the Ba culture has generally been interpreted as the evidence of the movement of Ba people toward the west, following the advance of the Chu state during the IV cent. BC.

The adoption of the terms "Ba", "Shu" and "Ba-Shu" culture and the reliance on written sources in order to identify historically known groups have however created a circular reasoning as regards attribution and chronology. All the burials displaying certain formal features and containing particular assemblages of grave goods, discussed below, are attributed to these cultures and variously dated to the early/mid/late Warring States period. This perspective has created fixed chronological borders and cultural distinctions often setting apart the possibility of earlier dates or different interpretations of the material record in terms of social affiliation and adoption of funerary practices.

The implicit idea of an equation between identified material cultures, considered as independent entities with clear-cut boundaries, and groups of people (Ba and Shu), has been progressively rejected as a simplistic interpretation both by Chinese and Western archaeologists. A clear geographical distinction between the two cultural groups and their two geographical areas (the Chengdu Plain and Eastern Sichuan) has not so far been sustained by any archaeological evidence[2], and is now substituted by the gradual introduction of other archaeological terms of discussion (Sun 2000), although the lack of a significant number of controlled excavations and chronological sequences still prevent the definition of a regional framework of reference and a diachronic analysis of all the identified discontinuities.

2.4.2 Chronological sequences for Sichuan Bronze Age

The definition of an accurate regional chronology from the Shang dynasty to the Warring States and Qin periods has been one of the main concerns of all the archaeological studies devoted to the region, although the lack of a complete set of material from controlled excavations and the inconsistencies in the number, nature and distribution of the sites (fewer burials for the Spring and Autumn period and fewer settlements for the Warring States, higher concentration of sites in the Chengdu plain) have made the task of conducting inter-site comparisons and constructing sequences particularly difficult. Various periodisations have however been proposed in studies

[2] Although the adoption of the term had been invested of another meaning, as the fusion of Shu, centred in modern Chengdu, and of Ba, located in modern Chongqing, was used to indicate the Sichuan region (Song 1998a: 3).

devoted to the "Ba-Shu" culture and often involved the definition of a continuous chronological sequence up to the Shang dynasty.

The first works of this kind were those of Song Zhimin (Song 1990b) and Zhao Dianzeng (Zhao 1983, cit. in Sun 2000: 5-6), who identified in the archaeological evidence of the region from the Shang dynasty to the Western Han dynasty a linear and unbroken sequence of development of the local Ba-Shu culture; they also adopted a chronologically framework that is mainly tied to the dynastic sequence of the Central Plain (Xia, Shang and Zhou). Zhao divides the "Ba-Shu" culture into a "mid-phase Ba-Shu culture" and a "late Ba-Shu culture", including in the first phase the late burials of Xinfan Shuiguanyin (fig. 2.3.9), the bronzes of the pit graves in Hanyuan Beihoushan 汉源背后山, the bronzes of Pengxian Zhuwajie (fig. 2.3.8), the rammed platform in Chengdu Yangzishan, the pit of jade objects in Guanghan Zhenwugong 广汉真武宫 (fig. 2.3.7), and the settlement in Chengdu Xijiaochang 西郊场; the dates of the period range from the beginning of the Shang dynasty (XVI cent. BC) to the period between the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States.

Table 2.1 Periodisation of the Ba-Shu culture proposed by Zhao Dianzeng

	Period	Characteristics
1	First period Shang-Spring and Autumn [second half of the II millenium-VIII cent BC]	late phase of Xinfan Shuiguanyin: burials Hanyuan Beihoushan: pit graves Pengxian Zhuwajie: bronzes Chengdu Yangzishan: rammed platform Guanghan Zhenwugong: jade objects Chengdu Xijiaochang: settlement
2	Second period End Spring and Autumn – Western Han [VIII-I cent BC]	boat coffins: Baxian, Zhaohua, Mianzhu, Dayi, Pujiang grave pits: Fuling, Emei, Jianwei, Chengdu *guo*: Yangzishan, Xindu wooden platform: Mianzhu, Mianyang

The second phase comprises the boat coffins sites of Baxian, Zhaohua, Mianzhu, Dayi, Pujiang (fig. 2.5.19/2/4/10/12), the grave pits in Fuling Xiaotianxi, Emei, Jianwei, Chengdu (fig. 2.5.21/13/18/9), the *guo* burials in Yangzishan and Xindu (fig. 2.5.8), the wooden platform burials in Mianzhu and Mianyang (fig. 2.5.4/3); the sites were dated between the Spring and Autumn-Warring States period to the beginning of the Western Han dynasty (Sun 2000: 5-6).

Song Zhimin considers the Chengdu plain as the centre of the Shu culture and Shu people; he suggests a subdivision of the Shu culture into two main phases: an ancient phase, referring to the period prior to the beginning of the Spring and Autumn

(ante VIII cent. BC), and a late phase indicating the period after the end of the same period. The first phase was further divided into three periods and eight sub-periods according to the pottery types, stratigraphic relationships and morphological changes (Song 1990b: 443, fig. 1), as summarised in table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Periodisation of the Shu culture proposed by Song Zhimin

	Phase		Period	
1	First period Late Neolithic- beginning of the Xia dynasty [III millenium BC]	1	first phase of Sanxingdui	
		2	low layer of Yueliangwan 月亮湾	
2	Second period Xia, Shang, beginning of the Western Zhou [XX-XI cent BC]	3	second phase of Sanxingdui	
		4	third phase of Sanxingdui	Shang dynasty
		5	upper layer of Yueliangwan upper layer of Yangzishan platform	early Western Zhou
3	Third period mid Western Zhou-Eastern Zhou (Spring and Autumn period) [XI-VIII cent. BC]	6	first period of Shierqiao	mid Western Zhou
		7	mid period of Shierqiao late period of Zhihuijie 指挥街 early period of Shuiguanyin	late Western Zhou
		8	late period of Shierqiao late period of Zhihuijie late period of Shuiguanyin	Spring and Autumn

Song Zhimin thus suggests an unbroken sequence from the neolithic Longshan culture to the Spring and Autumn period; however, his subdivision into eight periods made on the basis of typological comparisons has been criticised as not securely grounded on archaeological evidence (Sun Hua 2000: 6). The late period of the Shu culture was not further divided into sub-periods.

Another chronological sequence for the Chengdu Plain has been recently proposed by Sun Hua for the period between the Shang dynasty and the Warring States, on the basis of the archaeological sequences detected in the settlements of Shierqiao. Although supporting his analysis on a reappraisal of old and more recent excavations, he also defends the idea of an unbroken sequence of development in the area, stressing the maintenance of a local tradition of pottery and bronze manufacture despite the continuous influence from the Central Plain and the nearby Hunan region. In order to complete his chronological sequence, he includes the sites of Shierqiao, all located in Pijiang district (Chengdu municipality): Shierqiao, Fuqinxiaoqu 抚琴小区, Qingyanggong, Fangchijie 方池街, Junpingjie 君平街, Zhihuijie 指挥街, Yandaojie 盐道街 and Shangzhujiaguai 上注家拐 (fig. 2.4). They are considered part of the same archaeological complex, covering a period from the XIII

cent. to the II cent. BC, further divided into three periods (*qi*) and six sub-periods (*duan*). This subdivision, summarised below, refines a chronological sequence already proposed by Sun Hua for the Shierqiao sites (Sun Hua 1996) with the inclusion of archaeological material found in the site of Xinyicun 新 一 村 (Sun 2000: 8-12).

Table 2.3 Periodisation of Bronze Age in the Chengdu Plain proposed by Sun Hua

phase	sites	period	sites
I (1250-1000 BC)	Shierqiao layers 13-11 Fuqin xiaoqu layer 4	I	Shierqiao layers 13-11
		II	Fuqin xiaoqu layer 4
II (1000-500 BC)	Xinyicun layers 8-6	I	Xinyicun layer 8
		II	Xinyicun layer 7-6
III (500-150 BC)	Qingyanggong 4-2 Shangzhujiaguai 5-4B	I	Shangzhujiaguai 5, pit H8 Qingyanggong I phase, layers 3-4
		II	Shangzhujiaguai 4B, pit H6 Qingyanggong II phase, layer 3

The periodisation for the Shierqiao and Xinyicun sites has been connected with the stratigraphic sequences in Sanxingdui and in Zhongxian in Eastern Sichuan (Sun 2000: 12-20) (fig. 2.3). Sun Hua associates the early period of the I phase in Shierqiao with the III period in Sanxingdui and with the II period of Zhongxian Shaopengzui 忠 县 哨 棚 嘴 (fig. 2.3.19), thus creating an unbroken regional sequence from Neolithic times to the Bronze Age (Sun 2000: 9-12, Xu 2001: 34). This sequence is divided into eight periods (*shiqi*) listed in table 2.4 and named after their most representative sites; the area of distribution of the Sanxingdui, Shierqiao and Xinyicun cultures is represented in figure 2.3.

Table 2.4 Periodisation of archaeological cultures (Sun 2000)

phase		sites	period
1	Sanxingdui culture	II period Sangxingdui II period Zhongxian Shaopengzui	
2	Shierqiao culture	III period Sangxingdui I period Shierqiao III period of Zhongxian Shaopengzui	1250-1000 BC
3	Xinyicun culture Wazhadi culture	II period Shierqiao Xinyicun	1000-500 BC
4	Qingyanggong culture	III period Shierqiao	500-150 BC

The dating of these phases was fixed with reference to the assemblages of pottery and bronze vessels of the Central Plain, together with the results of carbon dating analysis. The main cultural features of these phases are summarised below with

the exception of periods I and II of the Sanxingdui culture, which pre-date the periods of interest here.

The Shierqiao culture [1250-1000 BC] comprises period III of Sanxingdui, period I of Shierqiao and period III of Zhongxian Shaopengzui, together with the sites of Shuiguanyin (Xindu district) (SB 1959a) (fig. 2.3.10) and Shaxi (Yaan) (SWGW 1990a) (fig. 2.3.13) in the Chengdu Plain, the sites of period II in Chongqing and Exi 鄂西 (Sun 2000: 14) (fig. 2.2.16), and the sites of Lanzhongxian Lanjiaba 兰家坝 (fig. 2.3.5) and Ziyangxian Baimashi 紫阳县白马石 in Shaanxi (Sun 2000: 20).

Table 2.5 Shierqiao culture: sites and main features

phase	sites	features
I Shierqiao culture (1250-1000 BC)	III period Sanxingdui I period Shierqiao III period of Zhongxian Shaopengzui Shuiguanyin (Xindu) Shaxi (Yaan) II period Chongqing-Exi region Yangzishan platform	high stemmed *dou* pointed bottom *zhan* and *guan* *guan* with flat bases and straight necks bronze *zun*, *lei* salix-leaf *jian*

The pottery assemblage includes high stemmed *dou*, pointed bottom *zhan*, pointed bottom *guan* and *guan* with flat bases and straight necks (ibid.: 22, fig. 1.5). The architectural remains at Shierqiao suggest the presence of structures made of wooden beams and planks, bamboo walls and straw roofs; the beams were drilled with holes probably to fix the wooden pilasters of the foundations (Xu 2001: 35, fig. 10). The three-tiered platform of Yangzishan was probably also a Shierqiao construction of 1000 BC (Sun 1993). Only a few burials were found in the sites: funerary pottery vessels were discovered around a corpse in Xindu Shuiguanyin. The bronze manufacture techniques continue those of the preceding period; the ritual vessels include *zun* 尊 and *lei* , and among the bronze weapons characteristic is a salix-leaf shaped sword (*jian* 剑) (table 2.5).

The Xinyicun culture and Wazhadi culture [1000-500 BC] combine period II of Shierqiao with that of the Wazhadi culture in the complex of Zhongxian Ganjingkou 井口, and it also includes the hoards found in Pengxian Zhuwajie (fig. 2.3.8) and sparse vessels from Chengdu and Guanghan (fig. 2.3.7). A clear difference is detectable between the Chengdu plain and the Chongqing region: the second shows a larger amount of cord-pattern *fu* jars with small apertures and pointed-base *bei* 杯; the first is

instead characterised by ovoidal *guan* with cord pattern and round shoulder *weng* and large quantities of *zhan* bowls. However, it is still not clear whether the Chendu plain and Chongqing were two different ceramic traditions.

One of the main features of the period is the use of the cord pattern and the decrease of undecorated pottery. Pottery shapes include pointed, flat and round base vessels: cord-pattern *fu* jars with small openings, pointed-base bowls (*zhan* 盏), pointed-base *guan* jars with a straight neck, cord-pattern ovoidal *fu*, round shoulders *weng* jars and flat-base bowls; the most characteristic is the cord pattern flat base *guan*. Among the bronze vessels, the *lei* ( ) is widely used (Sun 2000: 23, fig. 1.6). In the introduction to the Wazhadi culture, however, Sun Hua argues that this archaeological complex is not related to the Ba people since they settled in eastern Sichuan only in a later phase, at the end of the Spring and Autumn period (Sun 2000: 44).

Table 2.6 Xinyicun-Wazhadi culture: sites and main features

phase	sites	features
II Xinyicun-Wazhadi culture (1000-500 BC)	II period Shierqiao Xinyicun Pengxian Zhuwajie Zhongxian Ganjingkou	flat base *guan* with cord pattern round shoulder *weng* *zhan* bowls bronze *lei* vase cord-pattern *fu* pointed-base *bei*

The Qingyanggong 青 羊 宫 culture [500-150 BC] includes the period III of Shierqiao, the sites of Shangzhujiaguai, Qingyanggong and Fangchijie (CWKG-SDLX 1993) (fig. 2.4), and Baxian Dongsunba in Eastern Sichuan (fig. 2.3.17); all the burials in the Chengdu plain, Eastern Sichuan and southern Shaanxi are also associated to this period (Song Zhimin 1990b) including *guo* (Xindu 80XMM1, Yangzishan 53CYM172) (fig. 2.5.8/fig. 2.5.15), boat coffins (Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1, Baihuatan 64CBM10) (fig. 2.5.4/fig. 2.6.13), wooden platforms (Jinyucun 92CJM14) (fig. 2.6.4). The architectural structures are represented by the stone and rammed earth platforms of Yangzishan. This phase is divided into two periods (*duan*): the first, between the late Spring and Autumn and early Warring States periods, is represented by the layers 3-4 of the I phase in Qingyanggong and is characterised by pointed bottom *zhan* and bronze *dui* (as in the burial 73CXM1 in Chengdu) (fig. 2.6.7) and pointed-base *sheng* bowl (as in the grave of Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1) (fig. 2.5.4). The second period of the Qingyangong phase, covering the whole Warring States period and the Qin dynasty, is

represented by layer 2 of phase II of Qingyanggong; it does not include *zhan* and *sheng* vessels but later material, like low stemmed *dou* (like in the burial 82DWM3 and 84DWM19 in Dayi Wulong) (fig. 2.5.10), *gui*-shaped vessels (like the *dou* in the grave 84DWM18 in Dayi), *fu*-shaped *ding* (as in the burial 82DWM3), and covers with flat tops and oblique walls (82DWM4 in Dayi). The metal objects include iron *xiao* knives (82DWM3), weapons *jian* and *mao* decorated with symbols, and *banliang* coins dated to the period following 316 BC and to the Qin dynasty (Sun 2000: 24, fig. 1.7, 33-34).

Table 2.7 Qingyanggong culture: sites and main features

phase	sites	features
III Qingyanggong culture I phase (500-350 ar. BC)	III period Shierqiao: Shangzhujiaguai 5, pit H8 Qingyanggong I phase, layers 3-4 Chengdu Plain burials: Zhongyi xueyuan (73CXM1) Mianzhu Qingdao M1 (76MQM1)	pointed bottom *zhan* bronze *dui* pointed-base *sheng*
III Qingyanggong culture II phase (350-150 ar. BC)	II period Shierqiao: Shangzhujiaguai 4B, pit H6 Qingyanggong II phase, layer 3 Yangzishan platform Chengdu burials: Dayi Wulong M3-M4 Dayi Wulong M18-19 Baxian Dongsunba	low stemmed *dou* *gui*-shaped vessels *fu*-shaped *ding* covers with flat tops iron *xiao* knives bronze *jian* and *mao* with symbols *banliang* coins

All the proposed chronological sequences of the Sichuan basin still show serious gaps for the period between the last phases at the Sanxingdui sites and the Warring States period. These gaps have been explained not only due to the scarcity of finds, but also to the possibility that many of the sites, usually associated with the Warring States period, were actually belonging to an earlier phase (von Falkenhausen 1999: 541).

As regard the contacts between the identified cultures, Sun Hua argues that during the Xia and the beginning of the Shang dynasty the Sanxingdui culture of the Sichuan basin extended to the sites of the Exi region in south-east Sichuan, but did not include the area of southern Shaanxi. During the Shang dynasty (II millenium BC), the archaeological evidence seems instead to suggest the existence of closer contacts between the Chengdu Plain and southern Shaanxi, also facilitated by the presence of the Han river, which extended to the Hanzhong basin and the Ankang basin in southern Shaanxi. According to Sun Hua, this area was not only influenced by the Shierqiao

culture at that time, but probably constituted one of its main centers (Sun 2000: 40). Furthermore, the archaeological material of the later phases of Sanxingdui show formal and technological characteristics, especially as regard *ge* weapons and pottery typologies, similar to those of the late Shang and early Zhou cultures in central China. Such similarity has been used to support the evidence of the written sources, which attest the existence of alliances and political relationships between the Shu people and the Shang (Legge 1865, vol. III: 301).

In the synthesis presented by Sun Hua, the period from the end of the Shang dynasty to the middle of the Western Zhou dynasty (1200-850 BC) is presented as still characterised by contacts between the Sichuan basin and the bronze culture of Xinyicun, and the western part of Shaanxi. In this last region one of the seats of the Zhou dynasty has been identified in the district of Baoji near the Qingling mountains. During the same period no strong links have been detected between the border area of the Sichuan basin and the Changjiang cultures and the Exi region in the southeast. This lack of contact has been used to explain the existence of a more marked cultural difference between the Chengdu plain and cultures in the Chongqing area and southern Shaanxi, and also to explain an apparently different development in the two areas.

The period corresponding to the middle Zhou dynasty (VIII cent. BC) has been identified as the turning point for a supposed "interruption of contacts" between the Xinyicun culture, before attested in the Qingling mountains, and the Zhou. It has also been noticed that new elements from the Guangzhong area had been very rare after that period, and that the Chengdu Plain culture was marked by a period of "decadence" while maintaining "archaic traits" from the previous period of contact with the Zhou (Sun 2000: 40, Xu 2001: 36). The lack of similarities in the pottery and bronze production, and the presence of archaic shapes of weapons used in the preceding period in the Central Plain, have been commonly interpreted as evidence of a period of complete isolation, and even technological "stagnation", for the Shu (Sage 1989: 44).

After the Spring and Autumn period, corresponding to the Qingyanggong culture, the area comprising settlements and burials with common cultural traits seems to reach the Hanzhong and Ankang plains in the north, the Dadu river in the south, and the Qingjiang in Hubei. The Qingyanggong culture maintained a local tradition until the Qin and Han period (Sun 2000: 40).

Sun Hua's analysis particularly emphasises on the one hand the peculiar combination of elements showing cultural persistence and archaicism, especially during

the beginning and end of the Shang dynasty and from the Eastern Zhou period, with local cultural traits in architectural structures, burial lay-out, pottery assemblages and decorative motifs (Sun 2000: 45-46), on the other hand the changing nature of the influence, exchanges and contacts with the Central Plain according to the disclocation of the political power at the time. His analysis offers a framework of reference within which to locate the dataset used for this study, roughly corresponding to the second period of the Qingyanggong phase in his chronological sequence.

2.4.3 Archaeology of the Warring States period (V-I cent. BC)

The time-span of direct interest for this work coincides with the period associated to the Qingyanggong culture, as defined by Sun Hua (500-150 BC), or more generally to the Warring States period and Qin/Western Han dynasty. Few settlements are known for this phase in comparison with the number of individual burials and cemeteries that can be dated to this period. The available archaeological remains include a large variety of burial types and artefact assemblages distributed over an area including modern Sichuan, eastern Hunan and Hubei, north-eastern Guizhou and southern Shaanxi, although this study will be limited to the area of modern Sichuan.

Simple rectangular pits were the most common kind of grave in the Sichuan plain. The corpse was laid directly on the bottom of the pit with the grave goods; in some cases, one or two wooden planks or a simple wooden platform was used as a base (Mianyang 79MDM1 or Jinyucun 92CJM14, fig. 3.8.2). The pit could also be covered on the four sides and on the bottom with a layer of white clay, a practice often encountered in the Chu burials of Hubei. The grave goods include bronze weapons types, generally known as Ba-Shu examples, characterised by a specific set of *ge* 戈 (halberd), *mao* 矛 (spear-head), *jian* 剑 (sword) and *yue* 钺 (axe) and especially by distinctive decorative motifs including stylised tigers, birds and dragons and a large variety of symbols (figs. 4.61, 4.64, 4.67, 4.68, 4.78). Part of these motifs was also associated to an ancient script, not yet deciphered, quite widespread in the Sichuan basin (e.g. fig. 4.68/9). Lacquered vessels, made of wood and painted in red on a black background, are also found in these assemblages and they are often similar to the production of the Qin culture after the Qin conquest of the region (fig. 4.109), or, in other examples, to the Chu culture. The pottery vessels include characteristic round-bottom jars and *fu* decorated with a simple

cord-marked pattern, usually made by hand or on the slow wheel; it was a sandy coarse ware and fired at a low temperature (figs. 4.1-11). In the later burials *banliang* coins, dated to the Qin period, were found together with iron *xiao* knives and a more technologically refined pottery (figs. 4.15, 4.21).

A characteristic burial type of the period is the boat-coffin grave *chuanguanzang* 船 棺 葬 , which takes its name from the distinctive shape of the coffin (SB 1960: 10). This kind of inhumation has been found in the districts around Chengdu, in the Zhaohua district in north Sichuan and in the Baxian district in south-east Sichuan. It is characterised by a coffin carved out from one of the two halves of a single trunk, measuring from 4 to 6 m in length with an average of around 5.30 m and 1.10 m in width; the two ends are carved upward, thus resembling the shape of a boat, with two holes at both sides used to tighten a rope and lower the coffin into the pit. The interior of the coffin was also carved as a small compartment in which to place the deceased and the grave goods (figs. 3.19/1, 3.24/1-3); the presence of black remains in the coffin has suggested that fire was also used together with carving tools (SB 1960: 19). The internal compartment could measure from 2.50 to 4.50 m in length and less than one m in width, while the depth is about 30-40 cm. A small wooden coffin was sometimes placed in the compartments, as in some examples of Zhaohua Baolunyuan and Baxian Dongsunba, thus transforming the boat coffin into a "boat-shaped encasement" (*chuanguo* 船 椁) (fig. 3.19/2-3). The grave goods usually include Ba-Shu style weapons, round based jars and *fu*, a few lacquered objects and, in later periods, Qin and Han coins.

Another kind of burial is the *guo* 椁, a wooden encasement (*guo*) divided into compartments and containing one or two wooden coffins, often lacquered, while the pit was almost invariably covered with a layer of white clay and small pebbles (figs. 3.11/2, 3.16, 3.21-22). This type was especially common in Hubei, in the areas occupied by the state of Chu (Thote 1999), and in central China (Zhao 2000); in Sichuan, it is mainly concentrated in the Chengdu plain and northern Sichuan with a number of different arrangements as regard the burial structure and the disposal of the coffin and the grave goods. Some clusters were also excavated in south-western Sichuan. The grave goods usually include lacquered vessels in what is traditionally known as the Chu style, bronze weapons and vessels more closely related to the Qin culture of the Central Plain and the low-mid Yangzi river, and especially a more technologically refined pottery.

The burials of the Warring States period have usually been discussed with reference to the cultural traditions of Ba, Shu, Qin and Chu, while similarities and differences identified in the material record have been explained as the result of contacts between these cultural areas or with the cross-movements of their people. For example, the practice of covering the coffins with a layer of white clay is often recorded as a custom brought into the Sichuan basin by the Ba people, who settled in Eastern Sichuan after they moved westward following the advance of the Chu into their territories around the mid of the IV cent. BC. The presence of boat coffins, usually identified as a Ba practice, in areas around Chengdu, south-western or northern Sichuan, has also been often connected to the west and northward movements of the Ba people, again following the pressure of the Chu state along their eastern borders or as evidence of the use of Ba people in the military campaigns of Qin against Shu (Feng 1958). The same reasoning has been applied for the adoption of the tiger motif and a distinctive set of symbols, again associated with the Ba culture, in areas outside their original location. The presence of "Ba-Shu" artifacts (decorated weapons and bronze vessels) in the sites of south-western Sichuan has on the other hand been linked to the movement of Shu people from the Chengdu plain to the south after the Qin conquest in 316 BC (SWGW-Wang 1984).

A different approach, which includes the contributions of Sun Hua and other scholars, tend not to simply refer to the material culture of the Warring States period as remains of the Ba, Shu and Chu culture, but to tentatively and preliminary apply to similar groups of pottery and bronze assemblages the names of the main sites of reference. The Chu culture, located in the modern Hubei region, is thus believed to have influenced both the tradition of the Chengdu Plain, in the middle Warring States period, and that of the Chongqing area which is associated to the local Wazhadi culture. The latter had already been exposed to contacts with the Qingyanggong culture from the Chengdu plain, which was visible in many features before and after the absorption of traits from the Chu culture. At the same time there were also elements similar to the Qin culture, but in a proportion still uncomparable to that of the Qingyanggong culture and in a lesser percentage than the Chengdu Plain. The remains of the Chongqing area dated to the Warring States period have thus been seen as a local variation of the Qingyanggong culture (Sun 2000: 43), but with peculiar traits in terms of cultural overlappings: apart from the local ovoid *bei* with pointed base and the round base *fu*, Chu pottery can only be seen in this area. In the site of Ganjingkou in Zhongxian, the

elongated pit graves, usually associated to the Qingyanggong culture and containing *fu* with round bases and small apertures and low stemmed *dou*, are flanked by square pit graves with pottery set composed of *ding*, *dui*, *hu* and *pen* more widely used in Chu contexts (Sun 1998, cit. in Sun 2000: 43).

The archaeological evidence in southern Shaanxi is instead more fragmentary, and it clearly shows traits from different cultural traditions. According to the sources, the Hanzhong plain in southern Shaanxi was exposed to influences from the Chengdu Plain and the Central Plain for a long period. The area has also been considered a local variation of the Qingyanggong culture; the burial in Ziyang Baimashi (Shaanxi) dated to the mid Warring States period is a rectangular pit lacking pottery but containing weapons such as *ge* with elongated blades decorated with tiger motifs and *fuhao* symbols, together with *jian* swords in Chu/Yue style (ibid.).

The archaeological material so far excavated thus show multiple and superimposed patterns in terms of distribution of burial types and grave good assemblages. In the Chinese archaeological literature these patterns were explained either as produced by different groups of people (Ba, Shu, etc.) or as evidence of different archaeological cultures (Xinyicun, Qingyanggong, etc.) having some kinds of mutual contacts and exchanges at a regional level.

In the theoretical approach sustained in this work, in addition to intercultural contacts, migration of people and events of conquest which were certainly conducive of dramatic changes, the identified variations at a regional and local scale will also be associated to other causative factors, more related with the dynamics of social practice and interaction among different social and cultural groups coexisting in the area. This thesis will attempt to analyse on multiple levels the fluid and constantly changing boundaries between groups and the different combinations of cultural traits, in order to identify and possibly explain the process of acquisition, refusal and/or transformation of different burial practices in the region.

CHAPTER 3

SITES AND GRAVE GOODS DATA

3.1 DATASET

The dataset for this research is composed of 462 burials and their grave goods from 47 sites located in various districts of Sichuan province and dated from the Warring States period to the Western Han dynasty (V-I cent BC) (figs. 2.5-6). Little information is available for other kinds of sites, such as settlements or workshops. The data derive from Chinese archaeological reports published in the last fifty years in national (Kaogu, Wenwu, Kaogu Xuebao, Kaogu yu Wenwu) and local (Sichuan Wenwu, Chengdu Kaogu) archaeological journals. Most of the national publications were available in British libraries, although local journals, special editions or collected essays were found in Chinese universities. The archaeological reports produced locally or between the mid '60s and mid '70s are unfortunately quite limited in terms of accuracy and consistency in recording and publication, while those produced from the end of the '80s show a clear improvement both in the excavation techniques and in the standardisation and presentation of data. The published data were complemented by the analysis of the material available in museums and archaeological units. The original field notebooks and files were only accessible or still available in a few cases, while the unpublished or stored material was in most cases available for study.

This chapter presents the sites according to their geographical area (Chengdu city, Chengdu Plain, north Sichuan, south-west Sichuan and south-east Sichuan) and in alphabetical order within each section; the name of the site is followed by its code and the name of the archaeological unit in charge of the excavation. The associated tables present a list of the burials and their grave goods, divided into pottery, bronze weapons, bronze vessels, bronze objects, ornaments, seals, iron objects and lacquer objects; these mortuary assemblages form the dataset analysed in chapters 5 and 6. The general description of the site and the findings is followed by a brief summary of the cultural attribution, dating and comparisons made in the original reports; these attributions will be re-assessed through the analysis of the material made in chapters 5 and 6.

3.2 CHENGDU CITY

3.2.1 Chengdu Baihuatan 百 花 潭 (64CBM10)

Sichuan Province Museum

A cluster of burials was found near the Middle School of Baihuatan in Chengdu in 1964/65, but only grave no. 10 was recorded in the archaeological report (SB 1976) (fig. 2.6/13). In the rectangular pit (306 x 90 cm; depth 150 cm), orientated along the NS axis (10 degrees NE) and filled with a grey-yellowish soil, there were sparse black and red-coloured fragments, which were thought to be the remains of a wooden coffin originally painted in lacquer. The pit's contours, with the aperture larger than the bottom and slightly curved walls, suggested the shape of a boat coffin. The skeleton had his/her head orientated towards north.

The grave goods included 48 objects: one red sandy-ware pointed-base bowl (*zhan*) and 47 bronze objects. Among these, 28 were contained in a steamer (*zeng*) and included 14 weapons, two *xiao* knives, four axes (*fu*), four chisels (*zao*) and four spoons (*shao*). Six objects were contained in a *hu* vase decorated with hunting and fishing scenes, and included two weapons, two *xiao* knives and two objects with an elongated shape. These two containers, together with a vessel to cook meat offerings (*ding*) and a *mou* vessel, were placed near the feet of the deceased, while other weapons and tools were placed near the head. The group of weapons was quite varied, and included 11 *ge* (four types), 6 *mao* (three types), one *jian*, two *yue* and six knives (two *dao* and four *xiao*). Other vessels are two pointed-base boxes with covers and another *mou*.

Table 3.1 Baihuatan (64CBM10)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
64CBM10	BC	1	20	7	20						48

P	pottery	glD	glass/jade/bone/gold ornaments
W	bronze weapons	S	seals
V	bronze vessels	I	iron objects
O	bronze objects	L	lacquer and wooden objects
bD	bronze ornaments		[codes used in all the tables)

The excavators date the grave to the Warring States period (ibd.: 46). Song Zhimin attributes the burial to the Shu culture and to the corresponding ethnic group of the Chengdu plain, suggesting a date around the beginning of the Warring States period when the Shu state was controlled by the Kaiming clan (Song 1998a: 73). The pointed-

base *zhan* and boxes are linked to the production of pointed-base *guan* and *zhan*, identified as characteristic of the "Shu culture" and found in the Shierqiao and Zhihuijie sites (Song 1998a, 1990c); specifically, he considers the pointed-base *lian* as derived from the *guan* (T2.5:45) found in layer no. 5 of Zhihuijie and dated to the Spring and Autumn period (Song 1998a: 72). Li Mingbin also considers the *zhan* as similar in fabric, colour and texture to the examples of the Shu culture in the last phases of Shuiguanyin (T15 layer 3:1), Shierqiao (IIT30 layer 10:2) and Zhihuijie. He stresses, on the basis of the pottery sequence, that the vessels excavated in burials of the first phase (early Warring States period), such as Baihuatan, developed from those of the last phase of the early Shu culture (Li 1999: 41). Alain Thote dates the *hu* vessel found in the burial to the first half of the V century BC (Thote 2001: 219), with a *post quem* dating of around 450 BC.

3.2.2 Chengdu Fenghuangshan 风 凰 山 (58CFM1)

Sichuan Museum

The site of Fenghuangshan is located north of the Wudan hill in the northern suburbs of Chengdu (fig. 2.6/15); in 1958 a large *guo* burial was found on its slope (SB1959c). The rectangular pit (7.6 x 4.7), orientated along the NW-SE axis, was filled with rammed soil and the wooden encasement covered with white clay. The *guo* (5.16 x 3.3 m) is composed by 32 axes fixed together with the aid of grooves, the bottom resting on two wooden beams; the interior is divided by three axes into two main components, containing a coffin and the grave goods and covered by axes. The grave was already robbed at the time of the discovery; the preserved objects include 30 pottery vessels, 53 wooden figurines (*yong* 俑) depicting servants and animals, one small wooden table, six lacquered objects, one bronze seal and four ornaments.

Table 3.2 Fenghuangshan (58CFM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
58CFM1	Gc	30			4			1		60	95

The use of flat base jars with different kinds of decoration (*fangge* 方 格, *shuipo* 水 波, lozenge), together with bowls, wells, tables and eared cup, and especially the presence of figurines both suggest a dating around the late phase of the Western Han dynasty (ibid.: 418).

3.2.3 Chengdu Fenghuangshan (83CFM1)

Chengdu Wenwu Guanlichu

In 1983 a *guo* burial was found in the same locality as the burial discovered in 1958 (Xu 1983) (fig. 3.11/2). The *guo* (5.44 x 3.36 m, height 2.56 m), orientated along a SE-NW axis, is composed by 12 axes for its lateral sides, fixed together by grooves made on the small sides, a cover of nine axes and a bottom made with nine axes resting on two wooden beams. The interior is divided into a *guo* chamber (1.26 m high) and a *guo* repository (0.5 m high) by a layer of 11 axes; the inferior section is further divided into four compartments by three wooden beams. In the upper part there are two rectangular coffins (1: 2.44 x 0.84; 2. 2.53 x 0.85), both made out of a single trunk (at least 1.3 m in diameter) and lacquered with black outside and red inside. The deceased were a man of around 56 years old and a woman of around 40. The *guo* was covered by a layer of white clay.

The graves were already robbed and the original lay-out has been lost ; on the upper part there are nine pottery vessels, one bronze mirror, fragments of nine lacquer objects and 130 *banliang* coins; the lower section contains 19 lacquered pottery vessels, two pottery vessels, three iron objects, six bamboo plaited baskets and four *banliang* coins.

Table 3.3 Fenghuangshan (83CFM1)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
83CFM1 up	Gc	9			1					10	BL	20
83CFM1 dw		2							3	25	BL	30
		11			1				3	35		50

The fact that the burial contains *banliang* coins and no *wuzhu* coins suggested a dating before the 5th year of Han Wudi, Yuanshou reign (118 BC); as the grave only has coins of *sizhu* type associated to the emperors Wendi, Jingdi and Wudi and no Qin or *bazhu* type coins, the dating was fixed to the beginning of the Western Han dynasty (ibid.: 424). The *guan* vessel with outward flaring rim was compared with examples found in the *guo* burials of Yingjing Zengjiagou (SWGW et al. 1984).

3.2.4 Chengdu Guangrongxiaoqu 光 荣 小 区 (92CGM5)
Chengdu Archaeological Unit – Chengdu Kaoguyanjiusuo

A pit-grave, found below two Han brick burials and previously robbed, was discovered in March 1990 during building works undertaken in the Guangrongxiao district in the western area of Chengdu, quite close to the site of Jinshalu 金 沙 路 (CWKG-CKWY 1998) (fig. 2.6/2). The pit (965 x 866 cm, depth 269; at bottom 803 x 565 cm), approximately orientated towards NE (30 degrees NE), had a protruding embankment (87 cm wide)(*ercengtai*) at about 150 cm from the surface and with straight walls. The pit contained an encasement, similar to a *guo*, made with small cobbles of about 5-8 and 10 cm in diameter, distributed in three layers along the east and west sides and in two layers along the north and south sides. The soil used for filling the pit was a grey-bluish mixed soil (*wuhuatu*) above the *guo*, a rammed and compact black sticky soil within the encasement, and a sandy loose yellowish soil with small pebbles inclusions placed around the *guo* and on the pit walls.

The *guo* encasement (708 x 380 cm) lacked a cover and had a base made with 11 wooden axes (700/730 x 24/34 cm, thickness 18-24 cm) placed along the NS axis and at a distance of about 9-16 cm. The platform rested on two transversal beams placed along an EW axis, while above it two wooden axes (480 x 68 cm, thick. 6 cm), slightly oblique, were probably intended to accomodate the deceased.

One *mao* and one *jian* were excavated in the filling soil above the encasement, while 66 objects were discovered within the *guo* together with red and black lacquer remains which suggest that the *guo* was originally lacquered. Tools and weapons were placed in the south part of the burial, pottery and lacquer goods in the north end. The weapons included six *mao* (two types), seven *jian* (two types), one helmet and 26 arrows (three types); among the daily tools there were one *jin* axe, three carving knives (*tiaodao*) (two types), two *xiao* knives, one *dao* knife and one chisel. Other grave goods included two belt-hooks, two small ducks and one cover. The pottery, a sandy buff ware fired at a low temperature, included a miniature granary (*cang*), three *guan* jars with large aperture, short neck, round shoulders and flat base, one large jar (*weng*) and three beads. A small stick, a box and a weaved object, all made of lacquer, and two glass beads constitued the remaining goods.

Table 3.4 Guangrongxiaoqu (92CGM5)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	Bd	glD	S	I	L	TOT
92CGM5	Wa	5	40	1	8	9				3	66

The report compares the weapons and the tools to those found in Zhaohua Baolunyuan (SB 1960), Fuling Xiaotianxi (SB 1974) and Chengdu Yangzishan no. 172 (SWGW 1956). However, the lack of assemblages which can directly be related to the so-called Ba-Shu culture, such as the weapon *ge* without the extending *hu*, the *yue*, the *mou* pot, and, among pottery, the *dou*, the pointed-bottom bowls (*zhan*) and the rounded-base *fu*, has suggested a post-Qin conquest date. The technique of building the *guo* with a wooden platform and walls made of cobbles is more similar to the one used during the Han period. The *guan* typologies found in the Guangrongxiao grave are however still dissimilar from those of the late Western Han dynasty discovered in Shiyangchang (SWGW 1983). The lack of coins also suggests a dating not later than the beginning of the Western Han (CWKG-CKWY 1998: 28).

The construction technique of the *guo* grave differs from the practice of the simple pit graves or boat coffins, and can be found at other sites, like Qingchuan and Zhaohua, in north Sichuan; the use of the transversal beams below the base of the *guo* is also widely attested in Qingchuan (SB-QW 1982). The adoption of wooden axes with a quadrangular section for the *guo* bottom was also found in Chengdu at the sites of Qingyang and Hanshou College (CBK 1989b), where the grave goods assemblages are also quite varied. For example in the Qingyang grave there were double-handled *guan*, usually found in the cist-coffin culture, or pointed leaf-shaped hoes excavated in Yunnan. According to the authors all these graves can be dated to the period after the Qin conquest, when different cultural traits were merged together; the deceased might have been a Qin general while the weapons were buried as "war trophies" (CWKG-CWKY 1998: 28).

3.2.5 Chengdu Huachengxiaoqu 化 成 小 区 (92CHM1-2)

Chengdu Archaeological Team

The site, discovered during building works, is located in the western districts of Chengdu with Jinyucun on the east side, Fuqinxiaoqu 抚 琴 小 区 in the south and at 500 m from the second ring road on the west side (CK 1996) (fig. 2.6/5). The two boat

coffins were excavated in a yellowish clayish soil below a 35 cm layer of light brown clayish soil containing Han brick remains with floral decoration and pottery fragments with corded pattern. This layer was covered by a 30 cm layer with Tang and Song pottery fragments, and by a top layer of cultivated land.

Burial 92CHM1 was a rectangular pit grave (330 x 54-80 cm left width; depth 20 cm), with the opening larger than the bottom and orientated along the NS axis (20 degrees NW). The filling was a grey yellowish soil with remains of *guan*, *dou* and *fu* and lacquer fragments. The burial was in a poor state of preservation; the skeleton was fragmentary and its position was not clear. The grave goods were distributed randomly, except for the bronze objects, which were concentrated in the central part, and the lacquer remains, which were placed on the east side. Among the pottery only one *zhan* and one cover were still preserved (out of six pottery objects). The bronzes include two *jian* (two types), three *xiao* knives (three types), one *ge*, two matching rings, one vessel foot and one ornament; three lacquer sticks were also found.

Burial 92CHM2 was also a pit grave (660 x 100-114 cm; depth 66 cm) placed about 1.5 m from M1 but it contained an elongated boat-shape coffin. The pit was filled with a yellowish brown soil, fine and loose, that contained no artifacts. Between the pit walls and coffin the filling was a yellowish clayish soil, while the bottom and the walls were covered with a layer of white clay (4-30 cm thick). The coffin (612 x 74-78 cm; internal part 432 x 68-72 cm, depth 24 cm) was made out of a single trunk divided into two halves with a compartment for the coffin and the two bottom ends carved upward. The grave goods, placed in the trunk cavity, only included pottery, such as two types of *zhan*, one cover, one *lei* and one *guan*, and one lacquer basin, but no bronzes.

Table 3.5 Chengdu Huacheng xiaoqu (92CHM1-2)

tomb	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	T
92CHM1*	6	3	1	3	2				3	18
92CHM2*	10								1	11
TOT	16	3	1	3	2				4	29

These two burials were attributed to the "Ba-Shu culture" on the basis of the scroll designs on the weapon *ge* and of the dragon motif on the *jian*. They seemed to have the same orientation, and were placed within the same layer with no evidence of cutting or superimposition. The pointed-base cups (*zhan*) and pointed covers, made with a sandy buff ware with a grey slip, were compared to the examples found in burial no. 1 in Sandongqiao (CWG 1989b), while the pointed covers to M19:24 excavated in Dayi

Wulong (SWGW-DW 1987) and the *guan* were compared to an example in Zhaohua Baolunyuan (SB 1958: fig. 13.3). The *jian* types, characterised by black stains on the surface, are similar to examples from Qianwei (SB 1983b) and Dayi Wulong (SWGW-DW 1987). Based on these comparisons, the report dated the burials to around the end of the Warring States period, although an earlier dating around the beginning-mid Warring States period, especially for the use of the *zhan* vessel, seems more plausibile. The upward ends of the coffin, characteristic of the late period in Zhaohua Baolunyuan and in Baxian Dongsunba, are an unusual feature for western Sichuan where the coffins usually have two straight ends or only one upward extremity, as in the case of grave M4 at Dayi Wulong (SWGW-DW 1985), the burials in Pengxian Taiping *gongshe* (SWGW et al. 1985) and Mianzhu (SB-Wang 1987), or those excavated in Fuqin district in 1986 and in Qingyang district in 1987. The pottery *lei*, whose cover has two clearly impressed "S" marks, was probably made in imitation of the ritual bronze vessels. The presence of quite refined lacquer objects have on the other hand been associated with the high social status of the deceased.

3.2.6 Chengdu Jingchuan fandian 京 川 饭 店 (86CJM1)

Archaeological Team of the Chengdu Museum

In the area of the Jingchuan fandian, at about 800 m from the Middle School of Baihuatan, a pit burial was discovered in January 1986 (CBK 1989a) (fig. 2.6/11). Due to the poor state of conservation, it was not possible to identify the original lay-out of the tomb. The 33 grave goods include 12 weapons, divided in five *ge* and five *mao*, each group having four different types, one *jian* and one *yue*. A zoomorphic decoration appears on all *mao* and on one *ge* (II type). The remaining goods are bronze daily tools, one mirror, two *mou* pots and only two weaving tools made of pottery.

Table 3.6 Chengdu Jingchuan fandian (86CJM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	Bd	glD	S	I	L	TOT
86CJM1	rP	2	12	2	7	10					33

The dating has been mainly based on weapon typologies, which include a type of *ge* (I type) comparable to the examples found in the Zhuwajie hoard in Pengxian (Wang 1961) and in Baihuatan (SB 1976), the II and III type of *ge* close to early/mid Warring States period examples, such as type IV in Baihuatan or type IV in Xindu

Majia (SB-XWG 1981), and the *ge* IV type of the late Warring States period. The shape of the *mao* IV type and the decoration on the others (dragon, bird, etc.) have also been dated to a late period.

3.2.7 Chengdu Jinniuqu 金 牛 区 (80sM1-2)

Chengdu Cultural Relics Administration

Two pit burials, the second at a distance of 32.5 m SW from the first, were excavated in February 1980 in the area of Jinniuqu (CWG 1985) (fig. 2.6/1). Since the first burial was seriously damaged by the building works, it was not possible to detect its structure and lay-out, although the general shape seemed to be elongated (left length 4.50 m) with a N-S orientation. The filling was a white clayish soil (*baigaoni*) mixed with yellowish soil. In the southern part of the grave there were wooden remains of *mao* and *ge* handles. The grave goods included 12 objects: two *jian*, one *mao*, two *ge*, one *yue*, two arrows, one helmet, two iron *fu* axes and one belt-hook. The second grave (380 x 120 cm; depth 67 cm), having the same orientation as the first, also had white clay used for filling the pit. The 11 grave goods included: one *guan*, two *fu*, two *dou* in sandy red ware with grey surface fired at low temperature and only one bronze *mou* pot in the southern part of the grave.

Table 3.7 Chengdu Jinniuqu (80sM1-2)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
80sM1			9			1			2		12
80sM2*		10		1							11
		10	9	1	0	1			2		23

Due to the presence of a *fu* axe and a belt-hook made of iron, together with a *ge* with an elongated *hu* and a *jian* with a groove to insert the handle which were more similar to Central Plain examples, the first grave has been dated to the period immediately following the Qin unification (after 221 BC). Round-base *guan* and *fu* vessels in the second grave suggested an earlier dating, close to the Qin conquest of Sichuan around 316 BC.

3.2.8 Chengdu Jinshaxiang 金 沙 巷 (93CGM1-3)

Chengdu Archaeological team

In June 1993, four pit graves (93CGM1-3 plus one completely destroyed) were discovered south of Jinshaxiang in Guangrongxiao district (CWKG 1997a) (fig. 2.6/3). They were about 2 to 5.9 m apart and at about 3 m below the surface in a layer of yellowish soil and above a layer of small pebbles. The first burials were orientated at 5 degree NW, while the other two were along the NS axis. Grave no.1, at a distance of about 2 m from no. 2, was nearly completely destroyed although there still were traces of bluish white clay (*qinggaoni*) on the bottom, together with remains of wooden axes, and of sandy yellowish soil on the four sides of the pit. The grave goods, randomly placed on the bottom, include four *ge*, one *yue*, one *fu* axe, two *jian*, two carving knives (*kedao*), one *mou* pot and few fragments of sandy ware pottery. Grave no. 2, quite well preserved, had an elongated shape (462 x 144 cm; depth 44 cm) and straight walls, with a filling of mixed soil (*wuhuatu*) and a layer of sandy yellowish soil with traces of bluish white clay (*qinggaoni*) near the walls (fig. 3.8/3). Inside and outside the wooden coffin and on the bottom of the pit there was a layer of bluish grey clay. The E and W side of the coffin and the S side were formed by wooden axes, but with no trace of mortise and tenon joints. On the bottom there were two transversal beams towards the north section of the coffin and one towards the south. In the north part of the pit there were remains of bamboo joints.

The grave goods include 41 objects. The weapons, daily and working tools were placed in the north part: two bronze *mou* pots, one bronze *dou*, one cover, one helmet, one *yue*, one *fu* axe and one *ge*, one *dao* knife and one saw. The deceased was placed at the centre with the head orientated towards the north and the body slightly bent towards the west. On the east side and to the left of the body were small bronze objects (six bracelets, two cylindric tubes, two chimes stones (*qing*), one ornament). Larger bronze vessels were placed south of the feet: one *ding*, one basin *pan*, one *hu*, one *dui*, while on the south side there were fragments of one *dou* and four *guan* made of a brownish ware with sandy inclusions. Grave no. 3 (left dimensions 350 x 90 cm), about 5.9 m from grave no. 2, was orientated along the NS axis. The filling soil was similar to grave no. 2, and the coffin was made of wooden planks (*muban zang*). In the east and west part there were *dou* and *guan* remains with fabric similar to the vessels found in grave no. 2.

Table 3.8 Chengdu Jinshaxiang (93CGM1-3)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	Bd	glD	S	I	L	TOT
93CGM1	Wa	frag.	8	1	3						12
93CGM2	Wa	5	2	8	4	9					28
93CGM3	Wa	frag.									
		5	10	9	7	9					40

The presence of *ge* (types 1 and 2) similar to those produced in the early period of the Warring States, like Mianzhu (SB-Wang Youpeng 1987), together with the *ge* (type 3), the *jian* and the *mou* pot of the late period and decorations of the mid-Warring States period, suggested a date of around the early phase of the late Warring States period for burial no. 1. Grave no. 2 was instead dated to the late Warring States period on the basis of the large bronze vessels, weapons and tools, together with the pottery similar to the production found in Dongsunba (SB 1960). Grave no. 3 was generally dated to the Warring States period.

3.2.9 Chengdu Jinyucun 金 鱼 村 (92CJM1-7-14-18)

Chengdu Archaeological Unit

The Jinyucun site, located in the western suburbs of Chengdu, north of the Tanqin residential area and west of the First Ring Road, was accidentally discovered during building works (CWKG 1997b) (2.6/4). The excavations, conducted in 1992, have brought to light funerary remains dating from the Warring States period to the Song dynasty. Among the four pit graves dated to the Warring States period (92CJM1, M7, M14, M18), two (M1 and M18) were already seriously damaged, while for the others it was possible to identify the original lay-out of the burial. Tomb no.1 was a rectangular pit, orientated along the NW/SE axis (45 degree NW) and damaged on the east side by the construction of a water pipe (left dimensions: 110 x 90 cm; depth 70 cm). The filling was a yellowish buff soil, slightly lighter than the soil outside the grave. Bones remains, including a skull oriented towards the north, were concentrated on the southwest side and were surrounded by grave goods: four *ge*, including one with fragments of a wooden handle and lacquer remains, one *mao* and four pointed-base *zhan* cups. Burial no. 14 was a rectangular pit, excavated at 60 cm below the surface, with the west side slightly larger (532 x 100-120 cm; pit depth 116 cm) and orientated at 30 degrees NW (fig. 3.8/2). At a distance of about 8 cm from the pit opening and below a layer of yellowish buff clay with no cultural remains, a protruding embankment (width:

north and south sides 10-15 cm, west side: 25 cm, east side: 5-7 cm; depth 108 cm) was constructed along the four sides with rammed sandy yellowish clay. The pit is filled with a greyish mixed soil (*wuhuatu*) including fragments of sandy corded pattern ware and clayish ware. On the bottom a platform made of two wooden axes (420 x 42 cm; thickness 5 cm) acted as a support for the deceased and the grave goods. On the four walls and below the axes there was a layer of white clay (*baigaoni*) (thickness on the walls 2-10 cm; bottom about 8 cm). The skeleton's arms were along side his/her body and the skull orientated towards SE. A layer of white clay (up to 34 cm on the west side) was applied before and after the disposal of the body. As for the grave goods (31 objects), the pottery was concentrated in the south-west part, while the weapons and a few lacquer remains were located respectively at the right of the body and near the waist.

As for burials nn. 7 and 18 only their lower portion remained. Burial no. 18 (290 x 80 cm; left depth 10 cm), oriented at 170 degrees NE, had two wooden axes on the bottom and a few bone fragments. Grave no. 7 (270 x 70 cm; left depth 14 cm) (fig. 3.9/1), orientated at 70 degrees NE, had a filling of sandy yellowish buff clay. On the bottom there were no wooden axes; the skeleton, quite well preserved, had the skull orientated towards north and its lower members flexed. The grave goods include pottery fragments of two *fu* and three *dou*, grouped near the head and the feet, one bronze *yue* was to the right of the mid-torso and one *xiao* knife was near the feet.

A total of 22 earthen wares was excavated: 15 *dou* (nine types), four *fu* (four types), one round base bowl and a cover. The bronze objects (tot. 16) include seven *ge* (four types), three *yue* (two types), one *jian*, one *mao*, one *xiao* knife and one *mou.*

Table 3.9 Chengdu Jinyucun (92CJM1-4-7-18)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	Bd	glD	S	I	L	TOT
92CJM1	rP	2	5								7
92CJM14	eP	21	7	2						1	31
92CJM7	rP	6	1		1						8
92CJM18	rP	1									1
TOT		30	13	2	1					1	47

The weapons in tomb no. 1 and the pointed-base *zhan* in tomb no. 1, are similar to examples excavated at Zhongyi xueyuan (CBK 1992) and other Warring States burials (SWGW 1982) suggesting a date of around the early-mid Warring States period. The weapons have also been dated to the same period on the basis of comparisons between the *ge* type I.1 in Jinyucun with the *ge* type 3 of Pengxian (SB 1981) and the *ge*

type II of Baihuatan no. 10 (SB 1976). The *ge* with *hu* (type II.1) is instead considered characteristic of the mid Warring States period, while type II.2 is similar to the type IV of Baihuatan and to type III of Zhongyi xueyuan (CBK 1992) and type I.2 to type III of Baihuatan.

The dating of grave no. 14 seems to be between the end of the Warring States period and the beginning of the Western Han, on the basis of the bronze *ge* and pottery *dou* types which are similar to those produced in the late Warring States period. In the report, *ge* type I.1 is considered the earliest, while type II.1 the latest and similar to type IV of Jingchuan fandian (CBK 1989a). The *mao* shape, with the blade longer than the handle (¾ of the whole body), and the decoration on relief were also considered of a later date. The *dou* type I.1 is similar to examples in Pujiang (SWGW-PWG 1985), type II.4 to Fuling (SWGW 1985), type II.5 to type II of Dayi Wulong (SWGW-DW 1985). The *dou*-shaped *pan* (I type) is similar to type A.II (H7:61) in Shangzhujiaguai (CWKG-SDLX 1993). The *dou* type II was still used in tombs at the beginning of the Western Han, such as in Mianzhu (SB-MZW 1983) and Fuling (SWGW 1984), although the lack of iron objects and *banliang* coins in grave no. 14 suggest an earlier dating. The use of a protruding embankement, white clay and wooden axes on the bottom of the pit was interpreted as evidence of cultural traits absorbed from other areas (CWKG 1997b:14). Grave no. 7 is dated to the late Warring States period due to the presence of the *fu* type II.1 which is similar to type I of Qianwei Jinjing (SB 1983b), dated to the late Warring States period; type II.2 is similar to the *fu* found in Dongsunba and Baolunyuan, and dated to the Qin conquest (Song 1980). The bronze *yue* or *xiao* knives (type 2) have also been dated to the same period. In the burial no. 18 the presence of a round-base bowl, similar to type 2 of Qianwei, and the use of wooden axes as in grave no. 14, suggest a dating to the late Warring States period.

3.2.10 Chengdu Longquanyiqu 龙 泉 驿 区 (92CLM1-34)

Chengdu Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo – Longquanyiqu Wenwu Guanlisuo

The district of Longquanyi is located in the SE of Chengdu; in 1992 a total number of 34 pit burials were found on a hilly platform, four of them seriously damaged (CWKY-LWG 2000) (fig. 2.5/11). Most of the graves are grouped in clusters of two or three with an orientation of both SE or NW; the pits are between 3-4 m in length and

1.5-2 m in width and were mainly filled with rammed mixed soil and white clay. Among the burials, 28 contain a *guo* encasement without coffins (fig. 3.16/1-2), while the other two have simple wooden axes on the bottom. The *guo* (2.4-3.24 m x 0.88-1.63 m) have the bottom made with two or four axes, usually resting on two wooden beams; in 25 cases the internal surface of the small sides is carved into straight angles in order to fix the long sides, in one case they have grooves and in other two graves the sides are simply joined together to form a rectangular encasement.

An overall number of 183 grave goods were found in the burials: 74 restored pottery vessels, 12 bronze vessels, 26 weapons, three *xiao* knives, four belt-hooks, four seals, two rings and 34 iron objects. Lacquer fragments and *banliang* coins were found in nearly all the graves. Only three burials (M16, M22 and M34) were fully recorded.

Table 3.10 Chengdu Longquanyiqu (92CL)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	Bd	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
92CLM5	G								2	3		5
92CLM6	G								1			1
92CLM8	G	1										1
92CLM10	G	1										1
92CLM12	rP	2										2
92CLM13	G	1			1							2
92CLM14	G	2			1	2						5
92CLM15	G	1										1
92CLM16	G	13	2						2	10	BL	27
92CLM17	G	1				1				1	BL	3
92CLM19	G	1	2	1				1		1		6
92CLM20	G	1										1
92CLM21	G		1					1		1	BL	2
92CLM22	rP	9	3						4	2	BL	18
92CLM24	G	1	2	1	1	1						6
92CLM25	G								1	1		2
92CLM26	G	1								2		3
92CLM27	G	2						2				4
92CLM30	G								1			1
92CLM32	G	1										1
92CLM33	G			1								1
92CLM34	G	12	1	4	1	1			3		BL	22
TOT		48 (169)	12 (25)	7	3	5 (6)		11 (33)	24	3 (4)		108 (271)

The number in brackets refers to the total number of grave goods

The burials M12, M18, M19 and M20 are considered the earliest of the site and dated to the late Warring States period, on the basis of the *banliang* coin types and of typological comparisons: the bronze *mou* was associated to that found in Xindu Majia, the pottery *fu* with those of Dayi Wulong, and the *ge* with an example unearthed in Fuling Xiaotianxi. The second phase comprises the graves M24, M31 and M34 and is characterised by the use of the double-handed *fu*, which is usually dated to the Qin period, a *weng* jar similar to the one found in the Western Han tomb of Fuling and in

Dayi Wulong, and the inclusion of iron objects. The third phase, which includes the remaining burials, shows a limited number of bronze objects, and the common use of large quantity of pottery vessels (especially *weng*) and iron objects (*fu*, *lian* and *zhan*), like in the Western Han grave of Tianhuixiang in Chengdu and the one in Fuling, thus suggesting a similar date for the Longquanyi burials (CWKY-LWG 2000: 32).

The structure of the graves, especially the use of white clay, the use of rammed soil to fill the pit and the II shape, were attributed to the Chu culture; the *mao* and the lacquer goods are also close to the same tradition. The same assemblages include pottery *guan* and *fu* which are instead largely used in the Chengdu plain. The graves were thus linked to a community of Chu immigrants who acquired local customs (ibid.).

3.2.11 Chengdu Luojianian 罗 嘉 碾 (87CLM1-2)

The accidental recovery of two bronze weapons in June 1987 led to the discovery of two pit burials, associated to the Ba Shu culture, at Luojianian (Luo and Zhou 1993) (fig. 2.6/12). The site is located in the western districts of Chengdu, at 400 m north of Baihuatan, east of the Institute of Traditional Medicine, and south of Qingyanggong, Baiguolin and Fuqin sites. The archaeologists only report the presence of other Shu burials in the same area. The two graves, orientated along the EW axis and about 2.3-2.7 m apart, were both excavated into a gravel layer at 2.1 m from the modern surface. There were no intact coffins inside, but only red-lacquered wooden fragments with an elongated shape, possibly the remains of a coffin. Although the skeletons were not preserved, the report suggests that the each grave probably contained an individual and the arms were alongside his/her body. The bronze objects were placed near the head and the feet.

Burial no. 1 (540 x 91 cm, evaluated from the lacquer remains; depth 10-22 cm) contains 11 goods: one chisel (*zao*), one *jin* axe, two *mao*, one *jian*, one *yue*, four *ge* (A-B types) and one steamer (*fuzeng*). In grave no. 2 (490 x 92 cm; pit depth 12-20) three *jian* and one bracelet were discovered. Five other objects were excavated in the same area.

Table 3.11 Chengdu Luojianian (87CLM1-2)

tomb	type	W	V	O	Gd	glD	S	I	L	TOT
87CLM1	ePc	8	1	2					frag.	11
87CLM2	ePc	3			1					4
TOT		11	1	2	1					15

According to the archaeologists the burials belong to the Shu group within the Ba Shu culture based on the elongated shape of the pit and the probable use of boat-shaped coffins as in the nearby Shu graves in Baihuatan (burial no. 10), Qingyang and Fuqin districts. Daily tools, such as *zao* and *jin*, and the weapons are similar to "Shu" types as found in sites like Xindu Majia, Dayi Wulong, Pengxian or Jinniuqu. Both graves are dated to the early-mid Warring States period, and specifically to a period between Baihuatan and Majia Xindu. The *ge* in tomb no.1 are similar to those of Xindu Majia, although less refined and with limited decorations, while the *fuzeng* seems to be earlier than the one in Xindu Majia and similar to grave no. 10 in Baihuatan. The decorative motifs on the *ge* and *jian* are not considered characteristic of the "Ba-Shu" culture and the straight shape of the *yue* (5:1) and the elongated pit are instead considered characteristic traits of the first Ba Shu period (Luo and Zhou 1993: 192). Of the five collected objects the *yue* seems to belong to the mid-late Ba-Shu tradition, possibly from a burial of the late Warring States period.

3.2.12 Chengdu Sandongqiao 三 洞 桥 (83CSM1-4)

Chengdushi Wenwu guanlichu

In November 1983 a large number of wells and burials was found during building works in the district of Qingyang at Sandongqiao, at about 500 m from Sandongqiao and 200 m from the tomb of Wang Jian (fig. 2.6/6). The objects were sold to a local antiquity shop and only successively returned to the Cultural Relics Management Office of Chengdu (*Chengdushi Wenwu guanlichu*) after its inspection. The survey of the area showed that most of the burials had already been robbed and only four of them, although damaged, could be excavated and reported (CWG 1989b). Burial no. 1 (left width 60 cm) probably contained one *ding*, one *lei*, one *jian* and one spoon. Burial no. 2 (270x60 cm; depth from the surface 105 cm) had one *ding* cover and one *jian* sheath. In grave no. 3 (382 x 68 cm; left depth 12.5 cm; depth from the surface 175 cm), orientated at 210 degrees, a black wooden axe was found on the bottom with fragments of *guan*, *dou*, *fu* and a group of weapons (*mao*, *ge*, *xiao, yue*). Burial no. 4

(left dimensions 125 x 95 cm; depth from the surface 122 cm) contained fragmentary pottery, 7 *guan*, 2 pointed-base *pan* and 2 pointed covers that compose two boxes.

Table 3.12 Chengdu Sandongqiao (83CSM1-4)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	gD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
83CSM1	rP		1	2	1						4
83CSM2	eP		2	1							3
83CSM3	eP	frag.	8		1						9
83CSM4	rP	frag.									
TOT			11	3	2						16

Most of these materials were stored in a local antiquities shop (*ding*, *ding* cover, spoon, *jian* sheath, *ge*, *yue*, *jian*, *mao*, *fu*, *lei* and the chime bell) and the information given in the report still leaves many gaps for a proper attribution of the grave goods to the individual graves. The materials were however compared to other sites: the *ding* has been compared to examples excavated in burials nn. 1 and 2 at Liulige in Huixian, in a Chu grave at Jiangling Xieshan (HS-Jiangling gongzuodui 1984) and to a Warring States burial at Shumuling (HNB 1984). The *ge* were generally dated to the Warring States following Feng Hanji's assumption that the adoption of this type, characterised by the *hu*, is limited to this period (Feng Hanji 1961). The *yue* shape, with "shoulders" and rounded blade slightly bent outwards, was also considered characteristic of the period (CWG 1989).

3.2.13 Chengdu Shiyang 石 羊 (81CSM1)

Sichuan Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui

In 1981 a *guo* grave was found in Shiyang (fig. 2.6/15) (SWGW 1983); it is oriented along the EW axis and has an entrance path (*mudao*) on its east side. The pit (5.6 x 3.7 m) contained a *guo* encasement (4.4 x 2.8 m) resting on two wooden beams and protected by a layer of white clay then covered with rammed soil; the *guo* was divided by two wooden axes into three compartments used to place the grave goods and three lacquered coffins (fig. 3.11/1). These are made with single trunks to which two small sides were added. The grave goods include 18 pottery vessels, one belt-hook, one iron knife, a large amount of lacquered vessels and five different types of *banliang* coins (tot. 186).

Table 3.13 Chengdu Shiyang (81CSM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
81CSM1	Gc	18				1			1	frag.	BL	20

The presence of *banliang* coins, ranging from Qin to Han Wudi types, the lack of *wuzhu* coins, and the use of pottery vessels like the gourd-neck *hu*, the *mingqi* and iron objects suggest a date within the Wudi era, around 118 BC.

3.2.14 Chengdu Shuili shejiyuan 水 利 设 计 院 (94CSM5-9)

Chengdu Archaeological team

Shuili shejiyuan is located in the western districts of Chengdu at 230 m from the First Ring Road and 110 m from Qingyanglu (fig. 2.5/9). In December 1994, after the excavation of one Han brick burial, two pit graves were discovered at a distance of about 25 m apart (CWKG 2000). Burial no. 5, badly damaged on its north side (left dimensions 510 x 84-80 cm, depth 82 cm, depth from the surface 60 cm) and orientated at 24 degrees NW, was filled with a yellowish soil (*wuhuatu*), produced by mixing greyish clay with lumps of yellowish soil; on the bottom the percentage of light greyish clay was higher. There were only a few scattered bone remains. The grave goods include small bronze weapons, such as *ge* and *jian* and *zao* chisels grouped in the north part, and pottery *dou* e *zhan* concentrated in the centre; on the southern end there were placed larger objects such as bronze *mou* and pottery *fu*.

Grave no. 9, badly damaged (left depth 5-8 cm; central part 280 x 80 cm), is orientated along a north-south axis and filled with a yellowish buff soil containing clay (*gaoni*). In the north part there was a skull and one bronze *yue*, while in the central part there were only a few pottery fragments.

The pottery, which includes a total number of 24 objects, is characterised by a sandy buff ware with black slip. Although only four vessels were reconstructed, the vessels seem to mainly have round or flat bases. Most of the bronzes (tot. 16) were discovered in grave no. 5, while only one was contained in grave no. 9. The weapons include four *ge* (I-II-III types), two *jian* (I-II types) and one *yue*; the tools comprise two chisels, one *xiao* knife and one *fu* axe.

Table 3.14 Chengdu Shuili shejiyuan (94CSM5-9)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
94CSM5	eP	1	5	2	4						12
94CSM9	rP	3	1								4
TOT		4	6	2	4						16

Grave no. 9 has been dated to the late Warring States period. In the report the *yue* in grave no. 9 is similar to that found in burial no. 2 of Dayi Wulong and grave no. 14 of Chengdu Jinyucun of the late Warring States period, while the *fu* types I and III are respectively similar to type II and I of Dayi Wulong. Grave no. 5 has instead been dated to the mid-late Warring States period. The grave shape is similar to those in Dongsunba (SB 1960) which date to an earlier phase. Among the grave goods, the *mou* is similar to those in burial no. 1 of Jinshaxiang (CWKG 1997a) and in Mianzhu (SB-Wang Youpeng 1987), as are the weapons and the *zeng* steamer made of two sections cast together.

3.2.15 Chengdu western suburbs (near Qingyanggong) (73CXM1)

Sichuan Museum

In December 1973 one pit grave was discovered in the area of Qingyanggong (SB 1959b), close to the group of burials of Baihuatan (SB 1976) (fig. 2.6/10). The burial was a rectangular pit (460 x 271 cm; bottom 441 x 254 cm and depth 264 cm), oriented along an EW axis (85 degrees NW) (fig. 3.9/2) and filled with a greyish buff clay with no sign of mixed or rammed soil. A layer of white clay covered the four walls (thickness 5-7 cm) and the bottom (9-11 cm). Due to the poor state of preservation there were only wooden and lacquer fragments, possibly remains of a coffin, and a few scattered bones which suggest that the arms were along his/her body and the head orientated towards the west.

The grave goods (33 objects) include three *hu*, four *mou*, one *yi*, two boxes, one *ding*, one *dui* and seven *ge* (seven types), four *mao*, two *yue*, three *jian* (two types), three *xiao* knives, one carving knife and one *jian* cover. Most of the objects were in the western part of the burial and above the head of the deceased, while one *mou* and one *guan* were placed at its feet, the weapons and the tools along the sides of the body and the *jian* cover at its waist. The pottery, probably including *guan* vessels, was not preserved.

Table 3.15 Chengdu Xijiao (73CXM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
73CXM1*	rPc		16	12	4						32

The burial has been dated to the mid-late Warring States period on the basis of comparisons with burial n. 10 in Baihuatan (for example *hu* type II) (SB 1976) and the graves in Xindu Majia (*dui*, *yi*, *mou*) (SB-XWG 1981) and in Emei Furui (Chen 1986). Weapons and tools are all similar to these three sites and to Mianzhu Qingdao. The authors of the report tend to detect a more significant influence of the Shu culture, especially in the type of *ge* without *hu*, and "Ba-Shu" cultural traits, as in the *yue* with rounded blade and straight handle or in the symbols, such as the "hand and tiger" motif on the *jian* and *mao*. The use of white clay in the pit and the presence of bronze vessels as *ding*, *dui* and *hu* are instead associated to the Chu culture. For example the *hu* type I, the *ding* and the *chi* are respectively similar to the *hu* type I, the *ding* (type I) and the *chi* in burial no. 1 of Tengdian site in Jiangling, Hubei (Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 1973); the *dui* with globular body and S-shaped handles to type I of Zhaoshan, Hunan (HNB 1977) and to the pottery examples from tomb no. 1 at Lijiahu (HB1980) and in burial no. 1 in Tengdian. In this regard it is stressed how the unification of the Chu state was achieved with the support of the Kaiming clan living in the Chu area. As for the other grave goods the authors compare the *yue* in tomb no. 9 to those discovered in burials of the late Warring States period, such as no. 2 in Dayi Wulong and no. 14 in Chengdu Jinyucun; furthermore, the types I and III of *fu* are respectively associated to types II and I in Dayi Wulong.

3.2.16 Chengdu wuxian dianjixie gongye xuexiao (63CWM1)
无 线 电 机 械 工 业 学 校
Sichuan Province Commission for Cultural Relics Administration

The grave, discovered in the western suburbs of Chengdu in 1963 (SWGW 1982) (fig. 2.6/8), had a rectangular elongated shape and was orientated at 60 degrees NE. At the time of the discovery the pit (430 x 105 cm; depth 80 cm; depth from the surface 200 cm) was already badly damaged. The 30 grave goods included four pottery *zhan*, eight bronze *ge*, of four different types, six *jian*, divided in three groups, four *mao*, two scrapers, one *jin*, one *yue*, two knives (*dao*), one knife (*xiao*) and one belt-hook.

Table 3.16 Chengdu Wuxian dianjixie gongye xuexiao (63CWM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
63CWM1	eP	4	19		6	1					30

From the *zhan* and the weapon types the burial was dated to the mid Warring States period.

3.2.17 Chengdu Yangzishan 羊 子 山 (53CYM172)

Sichuan Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui

The site of Yangzishan is a mound located north of Chengdu (fig. 2.6/15); in 1953 a rectangular pit (6 x 2.7 m) with no entrance path (*mudao*) and an orientation along the NE-SW axis was found in the area (SWGW 1953). In the pit there were the remains of a *guo* encasement, containing a lacquered coffin, covered by a layer of white clay. The grave goods are mainly concentrated in the east part of the burial near the head of the deceased and include 16 pottery vessels, 24 weapons with two ornaments, 22 bronze vessels, one saw, one mirror, two belt-hooks, two seals, 11 lacquered objects, nine jade ornaments, 20 horse finiments, and a few stone and iron objects.

Table 3.17 Chengdu Yangzishan (53CYM172)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
53CYM172	Gc	16	26	22	1	22	10	2	1	11	112

The grave goods types and their location near the head of the deceased suggested a date of the Warring States period; some of the objects, like the *ding*, the weapons *mao* and *jian*, and the *lei* were attributed to the Chu culture, while others, like the round base *guan* and *fu*, were attributed to the local cultures of the Chengdu Plain (ibid.:19). It has also to be noted the use of characters incised on the rims of a few vessels; they are stylised symbols similar to those more commonly found on bronze weapons of the Warring States period.

3.2.18 Chengdu Yundong chuangshang yanjiusuo (93CYM1)
运 动 创 伤 研 究 所

In March 1993 a burial, already damaged by building works (left dimensions 150x100/85 cm; depth 70 cm), was discovered in the southwestern suburbs of Chengdu (fig. 2.6/14). The pit, orientated at 27 degrees NE, was excavated in a layer of yellowish soil and filled with a mixed soil composed by a yellowish buff soil with inclusions of greyish lumps. There were no wooden axes or bones remains. The grave goods include one *mao*, two *jian*, one *yue*, one *ge*, one *mou* and one scraper.

Table 3.18 Chengdu Yundong chuangshang yanjiusuo (93CYM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
93CYM1	rP		5	1	1						7

The presence of a type of *ge* without *hu* is usually assigned an early date as at Pengxian Zhuwajie (Wang 1961) or Baihuatan (SB 1976), while the designs on the *mao* and *jian* are similar to the examples in Xindu (SB-XWG 1981) and Zhongyi xueyuan (CBK 1992). The handle of the *mou*, linking the aperture to the body of the vessel, is a characteristic of the early-mid Warring States period, as in Baihuatan and Zhongyi xueyuan. On the other hand, there are no symbols or pictographic signs usually related to a later period.

3.2.19 Chengdu Zhongyi xueyuan 中 医 学 院 (80CZM1)
Archaeological team of the Chengdu museum

In the area of the Institute of Traditional Medicine at Shierqiao and close to a Shang settlement (SWGW 1987) (fig. 2.6/7), an elongated rectangular pit grave (256 x 60 cm; depth 152 cm) orientated at 9 degrees NE, was discovered in November 1980. The superficial layer contained tiles fragments with corded pattern decoration dated to the Han dynasty, while the layer below the pit was a yellowish rammed soil covering a greyish layer with Shang and Zhou remains: *guan* with flat bottom, *zhan* with pointed bases and *dou* with high stems. The lacquer remains in the filling of the pit suggest the existence of a coffin, already decayed.

The grave goods, placed on the north and south sides, include one *fu* and four *zhan*, made with a sandy ware, and 15 bronze objects: one *dui*, one *mou*, five *ge* (four types), three *jian* (two types), one *yue*, one saw and three scrapers.

Table 3.19 Chengdu Zhongyi xueyuan (80CZM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
80CZM1*	ePc	5	9	2	4						20

The pointed base *zhan* are similar to the examples found at Shierqiao and Xinfan Shuiguanyin (SB 1959a), Qingyanggong (SB 1959b) and Chengdu wuxiandian gongye (SWGW 1982). This type of vessel was continuously in use during the Shang-Zhou period until the beginning of the Warring States period; the type excavated in Zhongyi Xueyuan seems to belong to the late phase. The type of *ge* with triangular blade and without *hu* are similar to those found in Pengxian Zhuwajie (SB-PW 1981), although more elongated, and Chengdu Baihuatan (SB 1976); those with a central *hu* are characteristic of the early-mid Warring States period. Furthermore, symbols and pictographic signs of the later period were not found.

The authors also note an influence of the Chu culture in the *dui* shape (Gao 1979), considered of the early Warring States period; while the dragon on the *ge* type II is associated to that found on objects in Sanxingdui (SWGW et al. 1987) and in Qianwei district (Liu 1983).

3.3 CHENGDU PLAIN

3.3.1 Emei Fuxi 峨 眉 符 溪 (72EFM1-M7)

Sichuan Museum – Emei Wenguansuo

In 1963 seven pit-graves were found in Emei Fuxi (fig. 2.5/13). The report does not describe the lay-out and general features of the burials and only give a presentation of a selected number of vessels (12), weapons (111) and objects (46) with no reference to their original location. These grave goods, out of a total number of 200 objects, could only be used for cross-comparisons among sites (Chen 1986).

3.3.2 Shifang 什 方 (SFM1-64)

Sichuansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo-Shifangshi wenwu baohu guanlisuo

Shifang is located in the area dividing the Chengdu Plain and the Tibet-Qinghai plateau at about 60 km northwest from Chengdu and crossed by the tributaries of the upper course of the Tuojiang (fig. 2.5/5); in the northeast the Shiliang river runs from northwest to southeast along the border with the Mianzhu district, while in the southwest the Banjiu and Yazi rivers run from northwest to southeast. After a first discovery in 1988 an overall number of 22 rescue excavations were run in 1995 leading to the discovery of 69 burials (M1-M69, but five empty) in an area of about 1 sq. km in the western districts of the town (SWKY-SWBG 1998). The 64 burials are concentrated in the eastern part of the cemetery at a minimum distance of 0.2m.; only in one case (M60 and M59) there are two graves placed one on the top of the other. Among the burials, 46 were approximately orientated along the EW axis, and only 18 along the NS axis. The surface layer of the cemetery is cultivated land, about 25 cm thick, directly above a layer of yellowish soil (about 15-20 cm thick) with remains of Han bricks and tiles. The burials were usually cut in a gravel layer or in natural soil below this layer and only in a few cases below the cultivated land. The different burial types (boat coffins, pit graves and *guo* burials) were randomly distributed, although it is possible to recognise areas with clearer clusters: the boat coffins were more concentrated in the eastern and central areas and less in the northern and western part; the pit graves in the northern and southern-central zones; the *guo* in the western-central area.

The 36 boat coffins were all single burials, except M58 which had two coffins. They were placed in elongated pits (proportion of 5:1 to 9:1) with a max. length of 8.6 m and a min. of 4.5 m, and 1.2 max. and 0.45 min. width. The walls were usually slightly rounded with the central part of the bottom deeper than the two ends; the extremities were sometimes upwarded. Only one burial (M41) had a rammed platform and two (M42, M3) had a layer of yellow or white clay. Among the 22 well-preserved coffins, six (M23, M32, M33, M7, M44, M1: group A) (fig.3.13/1) are made from a trunk cut in two halves, with rounded bottoms and two slightly upward ends with holes to tie ropes. The coffins were made by both carving and burning. The average length was over 6 m and the width over 0.8 m, while the inner compartment had a length over 4 m and a width over 0.65 m; the thickness of the walls ranged between 4 and 10 cm. Eleven coffins (M6, M11, M27, M35, M37, M41, M45, M55, M57, M63, M64: group B) have shorter walls and shallower compartments, and are generally simpler and smaller than group A, resembling a slightly curved plank. The five coffins of group C (M29, M30, M31, M58/1, M58/2) have both ends cut even and higher than the body, with no lateral walls and no holes (fig. 3.13/2). The dimensions range between 3.8/6 x 0.4/0.6 m. The orientation was along the EW axis in 25 cases and along the SN axis in six cases; the skeleton orientation was unclear, except in a few cases where the head was orientated towards the east or south. The grave goods (found in 29 coffins) were generally all placed within the inner compartment, except in one case (M41) where a few objects were found on the rammed platform in the pit. The pottery was distributed at both extremities and only rarely in the centre, together with bronze vessels, while the weapons, seals and ornaments were all generally placed in the middle of the inner compartment around the body.

The 24 pit graves did not contain coffins. A group of 12 pits had an elongated shape, ranging between 1.2 and 5 m in length and 0.5 and 1.2 in width, with walls slightly curved, aperture larger than the bottom and no rammed platform; the orientation was along the EW axis (seven cases) and along the SN axis (five cases) (fig. 3.14/1). The grave goods were either placed in the centre around the body or slightly near the sides, as in the case of boat coffins. A second group of eight pits had a rectangular shape, with length ranging between 1.45 and 1.7 m and width between 0.15 and 0.65 m, straight walls and a filling of mixed soil; the orientation was either along the EW or the SN axis (fig. 3.15/1). The grave goods, which were dominated by iron objects, also included lacquer remains and a few *banliang* coins; these were distributed at both sides

of the pit (pottery and bronze vessels) or around the body in the middle (weapons, coins, iron tools). The last group of four burial pits had a nearly squared shape, straight walls and flat bottom, with a filling of mixed soil; the orientation was evenly divided between an east-west and a south-north axis. The grave goods included iron tools, pottery, *wuzhu* coins and lacquer remains.

The four *guo* graves were constructed in elongated (M60), rectangular (M50, M67) or nearly squared (M66) pits with straight walls; the orientation was on the east-west axis. In the case of the better preserved ones (M66 and M67) the *guo* and the bottom were covered by a layer of white clay (fig. 3.17). There were no wooden coffins and the grave goods generally included pottery, bronze, iron and lacquer objects.

The excavated grave goods from the 56 burials included 344 pottery objects, 247 bronze objects, eight lacquer goods and 12 iron objects. The pottery is generally a coarse sandy grey or buff ware, with only a few examples of sandy black and red ware or buff ware with a black slip, or clayish grey or black ware. The main decoration is corded-pattern, applied to the shoulders or the body of the storing vessels, and on the bottom of the cooking ones, together with other minor motifs. The firing temperature was low and uneven and the fabric quite fragile. The types include 116 *dou* (seven groups), 83 round-bottom *guan* jars (eight types), nine flat-bottom *guan* jars (four groups), 60 *fu* jars (12 groups), 18 steamers (four groups), 17 pointed-bottom *zhan* cups (three groups), 11 *hu* jars (two groups), seven *weng* jars with a large aperture (three types), three *weng* with a small aperture (two types), five covers, four *bo* bowls (two types), three *ding* burners, three *pen* basins, two *zeng*, one *lei*, one flask and one small wheel.

Among the bronzes, the majority are weapons (tot. 144) which have a large variety of shapes and decorative motifs. They include 50 *mao*, with long (10 divided into three types) or short handles (39 divided into six types), 33 *jian* (12 types), 23 *ge* (11 types), 24 *yue* (13 types), 11 arrows and two *zun*. Among the 28 working tools there are ten *xiao* knives (four types), five *zao* chisels (four types), six carving knives, four *jin* axes and three saws, while the group of vessels is composed by 13 *mou* pots, seven *fu* jars, two steamers and two *pan* dishes (tot. 23). The ornaments include 13 belt-hooks (six types) and one *kou* button. Other bronze objects are a horse-finiment, five seals, 25 coins (*banliang* and *wuzhu*), 13 *huang* pendants and seven ornaments. Iron objects (12), glass beads (8) and lacquer goods (8) constitute a small percentage of the grave goods.

Table 3.20 Shifang (SF)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	I	L	S	C	TOT
Period I												
SFM11	BC	3			1							4
SFM25	sP	19	13		1							33
SFM30	BC		2									2
SFM56	BC	5										5
SFM69	BC	7	3			2						12
Period IIa												
SFM4	BC	8	1									9
SFM5	BC		1		1	1						3
SFM22	rP	17	4	1				1				23
SFM31	BC	2										2
SFM32	BC	1			1							2
SFM35	BC					1						1
SFM55	BC				2	1						3
SFM68	eP	3	1									4
Period IIb												
SFM1	BC	2	14	3	6					2		27
SFM2	BC	4	5									9
SFM7	BC	8	7	1	4	1						21
SFM10	rP	11	8	5	4					2		30
SFM15	eP	4										4
SFM23	BC	3	9	1								13
SFM27	BC	3	3			1						7
SFM33	BC	4	1			4	1			2		12
SFM36	BC	7	1	1	1							10
SFM40	BC	2			1							3
SFM51	rP	4	1	1								6
SFM58	BC	1			1							2
Period IIIa												
SFM3	BC	1	1		1	1	3					7
SFM14	BC	13	8	1	1	1	1					25
SFM16	eP	6	4	1								11
SFM17	eP	4	1									5
SFM52	eP	11	6	3								20
SFM54	eP	16	3	2	1	9				1		32
Period IIIb												
SFM38	eP	17	13	2	1							33
SFM39	eP	4	1									5
SFM41	BC	6										6
SFM45	BC	1	3									4
SFM48	eP	3										3
SFM49	eP	22	9			2		1				34
SFM63	BC	1	2									3
Period IVa												
SFM50	G	14	6	1		3		1				25
SFM61	rP	3	3								BL	6
SFM65	sP	13										13
SFM20	rP	10			1			1				12
SFM24	rP	13	1									14
SFM59	rP	11	2			7	1	1				22
Period IVb												
SFM21	rP	9	1					4				14
SFM60	G	5										5
SFM66	G	12	5					1				18
SFM67	G	15	1		4			1	8			29
Period V												
SFM53	sP	6						1			WZ	7
WS period												
SFM18	eP	1										1
SFM26	eP	4										4
SFM37	BC	2					1					3
SFM57	BC	3										3

The dating of the burials was mainly based on the typological classification of 49 graves, since both the stratigraphic evidence and the chronological indicators (coins) were particularly scanty. The whole period of occupation of the cemetery has been divided into 6 periods (*qi)* and 10 phases (*duan*).

Phase I (SWKY-SWBG 1998: 172, 177-78) is characterised by the presence of pointed-base *zhan* cups, with a shallow cup and no border, typical of the last stage of production of the vessel and associated to the first-mid Warring States period. Similar examples were found in the sites of Zhongyi xueyuan (CBK 1992), Qingyang district in Sandongqiao (CWG 1989b), Dayi Wulong no. 4 (SWGW-DW 1985). The type I *fu*, found in burials nn. 25 and 69, is similar to examples in Zhongyi xueyuan (burial no.1), to type III in Dayi Wulong (burial no. 4) and to those excavated in a layer dated between the Western Zhou and the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period in the Zhihuijie settlement (SDB-CB 1987). Both vessels suggest a dating around the end of the Western Zhou period. The flat-base *guan* (type A) has been compared to the types AIII (for the aperture) and AIV (for the body) found in the layer of the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period in Zhihuijie (ibd.). The type I *hu* is similar to type AI (JM66:4) found in the Chu burial of Zhaojiahu in Dangyang (Hubei) dated to the beginning of the Warring States period (Hubei Yichang diqu bowuguan-BDKX 1992).

As for the weapons, the *yue* AaI (M25:34) is similar to the example (M4:17) dated to the Spring and Autumn period found in burial no. 4 in Baiguolin (Luo-Zhou 1990). The chisel type I of burial M11 is similar to the one found in the same grave no. 4 in Baiguolin; while the *jian* BIII and BIV are similar to the example type I of Zhongyi xueyuan dated to the beginning-mid Warring States period. The *ge* type Ib in Shifang is close to type I in Zhongyi xueyuan, and the *fu* type C with an example from the same site. The dating of the first phase has thus been fixed to the beginning of the Warring States period (end of the V-beginning of the IV century BC) with an upper limit between the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods.

Phase II (SWKY-SWBG 1998: 177-78) is characterised by round-base *guan,* such as type B in burial M22 similar to the *fu* (M8:4) in Dongsunba (SB 1960), dated to the final phase of the mid Warring States period, and to *guan* type I (M1:5 and M2:42) in Pujiang of the mid Warring States period (SWGW-PWG 1985), although it seems closer to the small *guan* in Yingjing sites. Also the cover (type I) and the *dou* (type I) in graves M2 and M10 are similar to examples in Pujiang (ibd.). The *dou* AII are similar to an early example (M9:13, type III) in Nanluoba (which are also present in the late

period), dated to the beginning/mid Warring States period (YB 1994); while *dou* I type to one, called cover type III, in burial 4 of Dayi Wulong dated to the beginning of the Warring States period. The *fu* (type AII) has been compared to the type I of Dayi Wulong no. 3 of the mid Warring States period (SWGW-DW 1985) and the *lei* to the one found in Nanluoba (which seems closer to a *hu*) of the mid-late Warring States period. The weapons, *yue* AaIII, AaV, *ge* V, *mao* BII and BIIIa, *jian* AIII and AIV, *jin* I, *xiao*, *zao*, *mou* I and II, and the seals are all compared to the mid Warring States period (end of the V- beginning of the IV cent. BC).

The burials grouped in phase III (SWKY-SWBG 1998: 177-79) include the *dou* type AIII, similar to examples found in burials M4, M24, M85 and M84 in the late Warring States period site of Baxian Dongsunba (SB 1960), and the *dou* type BII, close to the type excavated in the burial of the mid Warring States period in Pujiang. In both cases the *dou* is short-stemmed and seems to belong to a late phase of production of the type. Other characteristic vessels include the round-base *guan* type AbI, associated to similar vessels found in burials M84 and M85 in Dongsunba and M10 in Baolunyuan, and the *fu* BaII, similar to type II found in burial M2 in Dayi Wulong. The *jian* type V, although still showing morphological traits characteristic of the "Ba-Shu culture", seems to be more similar to the Central Plain examples. The date of phase III is bracketed between the end of the IV cent. BC and the mid of the III cent. BC, after the advent of the Qin and before the unification of the empire (316-250 BC), and it has been divided into a first (beginning of the late Warring States period) and a second phase (mid-late Warring States period).

The type I of the *weng* with a small aperture, characteristic of the first period of phase IV in Shifang, is similar to the type III found in the burial M1 at the site of Tianshui Mumatan (Gansusheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo-Tianshuishi Beidaoqu wenhuaguan 1989) dated to the period before the Qin unification, while the *weng* type II dated to the second period has been associated to the type II of burial M2 in Yunmeng Mujiangba in Hubei (Yunmengxian bowuguan 1992) of the period after the Qin unification. The same distinction can be seen in *guan* types I and II found in burials M18 and M19 at Dayi Wulong. The *dou* type AIV is similar to *dou* I type in burial M19 in Dayi Wulong (SWGW-DW 1987), while the *zeng* of burial M20 in Shifang has been associated to the *pen* in burial M19 in Dayi Wulong. As for the weapons, the *ge* VII type and the belt-hook type C are close to examples in tomb M19 of Wulong. The *banliang* coins are of the Qin period. Phase IV has been dated between the end of the

Late Warring States period (first phase) and the Qin dynasty (second phase) (mid to late III cent. BC) (SWKY-SWBG 1998: 177, 179).

Phase V (SWKY-SWBG 1998: 178-179) is characterised by flat-base vessels, lacquer and iron objects typical of the assemblages in *guo* graves; the weapons, such as the *mao* type BIV or the *yue* type AaVII, are quite different from the "Ba-Shu" examples. Some pottery vessels, such as the round-base *guan* type Ab, the *dou* type A or the *weng* with large aperture, are derived from types of the preceding period, while other vessels, like *bo* bowls type II, flat-base *guan* type BaI, *dou* type V, round-base *guan* type AbIV, lacquer plates, wooden and iron objects, are similar to other examples found in burials of the Western Han period. Furthermore, the coins found in M21 are *bazhu banliang* and not *sizhu* or *wuzhu banliang*. The date has been fixed at the first phase of the Western Han period (first half of the II century BC).

Phase VI (SWKY-SWBG 1998: 178-79) is represented only by burial M53 and vessels characteristic of the mid-late Western Han period: flat base *guan* types BaII and Bb, *fu* type DII, *pen* II type or types I and II of *wuzhu* coins, dated to Wudi and Zhao or Huan periods (Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 1959).

3.3.3 Dayi Wulong 大 邑 无 龙 (82DWM1-4)

Sichuan museum- Dayi Cultural Bureau

The Wulong site is located 2 km southeast from Dayi, on a raised terrace 2 m above the surrounding fields (fig. 2.5/10). Southwest of the terrace there is an ancient water channel used before the Han dynasty. Five burials were excavated in April and August 1982 and in January 1983 (SWGW-DW 1985). One is a damaged Western Han burial, while the others are late Bronze Age pit graves.

The burials were placed on the NW-SE axis: M1 and M2 at a distance of 4 m one from another, M3 and M5 at a distance of 6 m from each other and placed 35 m SE of M1 and M2, and M4 at 30 m NW from M1 and M2. All the burials have an orientation of 3-30 degree NE and can be divided into three types: boat coffin (M4), elongated pit (M3) and pits with *guo* (M1 and M2). The skeleton lay-out was not clear. Burial M4 (orientation 3 NE) was a grave-pit (9x 1.36 depth 0.22 m) with three coffins and filled with mixed soil (fig. 3.12/5). The pit had two steps in the middle and on the eastern part (0.36, 0.2 m) and three pits for the coffins which were covered by a layer of

white clay. Coffin no. 1 was placed on the west side in a pit (9 x 1.36 depth 0.22 m). The coffin has two short upwarded ends and a shallow cavity in the middle. The manufacture, rough and not standardised, has been linked to an early date. As the burial was robbed in the north part and cut by a Sui-Tang burial, the grave goods only include a bronze *mao*, a knife (*dao*), a golden pearl and fragments of lacquer and bones. Coffin no. 2 (left length 1.8 m) was placed in another pit (5 x 0.5/0.58 m; depth 0.22 m) and probably made from a single trunk. In the south side there were pottery vessels: covered bowls, pointed-base *fu* and round-base *guan*. Coffin no. 3 was placed in the third pit (3.2 x 0.52m; depth 0.22 m) on the north-east side of the main pit; according to the authors there were traces of a small boat coffin. In the south part covered bowls (*bo*) and stone seals were found. The pits were surrounded by a protruding platform of rammed earth along the four sides.

Grave M3 was an elongated pit (5.9 x 0.84 m; depth 0.9 m) filled with organic soil and orientated at 8 degrees NE. No coffin was found inside (fig. 3.14). The south part had been destroyed by building work, although it was claimed that they found one *jian*, one *yue*, one axe and two pottery *guan*. On the north part there was a group of pottery vessels: *ding*, *dou*, *fu*, steamers, round-base *guan*, *weng* with large aperture and one bronze *mao*.

M1 and M2 were two *guo* burials, lined and orientated at 30 degrees NE. M1 was badly damaged, while M2 was quite well preserved. In the pits, filled with mixed soil, only remains of wooden planks, surrounded by a layer of white clay, were found. M2 (4.3 x 0.9 m; depth 2.05 m) had a platform (h 0.85 m, width 0.4 m) on the north side of the pit, while the four sides of the *guo* (3.7 x 0.7 h 1.3) were covered by a layer of white clay (1 cm thick). In the south part, already damaged, there were bronze weapons (*jian*, *yue*, *ge*, *mao*) and bow's components (*gongji*); in the north section a group of pottery vessels (*ding*, *dou*, *fuzeng*).

Around one hundred items were found in the four burials. Pottery fragments were refitted into 54 vessels, characterised by a grey coarse ware, either sandy or more clayish, not homogenous in texture. The low temperature and uneven firing made the ware fragile and easy to break. The decoration, mainly corded pattern, is in the lower part of the cooking and drinking vessels and on the upper part of the storing vessels. The shapes mainly include round-base vessels (*guan*, *fuzeng*, *fu*), flat-base vessels (large aperture *weng*, bowls *bo*) and a certain number of pointed-base vessels and pointed covers. The *dou*, short stemmed, have a pointed base cup, derived from the *zhan*, to

which a circular foot was added. The *ding* tripod has thin and long legs with upward ends. The 30 bronze objects mainly include weapons, daily tools (*jin*, carving knife), and vessels (*mou*, *fuzeng*); belt hooks and ornaments are in a smaller percentage. An iron knife was also found in burial no. 4.

Table 3.21 Dayi Wulong (82DWM1-4)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
82DWM1	ePc	2	3		1						6
82DWM2	ePc	9	12	2	1	2	11				37
82DWM3	eP	14	5	1	1						21
82DWM4	BC	29	1		1		2	1		1	35
TOT		54	21	3	4	2	13	1		1	99

According to the authors of the report, the burials, despite differences in the lay-out and grave goods, are roughly from the same period. The "boat-coffin" graves and the elongated pits, together with round-base vessels, pointed cup *dou* and covers, are similar to those from the sites of Zhaohua Baolunyuan and Baxian Dongsunba (SB 1960) and to the "Ba-Shu" culture. On the other hand, the large aperture *weng* or the bowl *bo* with inverted mouth are compared to early Warring States vessels like those unearthed in Qingyanggong and Xijiaochang or to Shang-Zhou examples from Xinfan Shuiguanyin (SB 1959a) and Guanghan Sanxingdui (SDLX 1961). The lack of coins and the presence of a few iron objects seem to suggest a date close to the early Warring States period.

Grave M4 has been dated to the early Warring States period due to its boat-shape coffin, not yet standardised in its shape and dimensions, and to its grave goods, mainly pottery vessels such as *weng*, *bo* and a few round- base *fu* and *guan*. Grave M3 is dated to a later period, contemporaneous with the earliest burials in Dongsunba and thus around the mid Warring States period (IV cent. BC), on the basis of its particularly elongated pit (length to width proportion 6:1), the presence of pointed cup *dou*, substituting the bowls and the covers (also called *zhan* cups), the high percentage of round-base *fu* and *guan* and bronze weapons, and the presence of a few iron ojects. Graves M1 and M2, characterised by an elongated pit (length to width proportion 4:1) and an internal *guo* structure with the use of white clay, and by the inclusion of *ding*, *dou* and *fu*, completely substituting the *weng*, *bo* and covers, and the high number of bronze weapons, are considered the latest, possibly dating to the mid-late Warring States period (beginning of the III century BC).

As regard their structure, Dayi Wulong graves, together with Pujiang and Pengxian Taiping, are similar to the coffins with upward ends of Zhaohua, Baxian, Mianyang, Pixian and Guanghan, with graves goods placed in the central compartment (*cang*) of the coffin. However, the ends of the Dayi coffins are cut even without upward ends; furthermore, the central store is concave, the coffin cover is thick, and the assemblages include earlier material. Wulong, placed at the western most part of the Chengdu plain, seems to constitute another typology of the boat-coffin graves (boat shape with single trunk coffin). However, it has been regarded as belonging to the Shu people, like Pixian, Pengxian, Guanghan, Mianzhu and Pujiang.

3.3.4 Dayi Wulong (84DWZM18-19)

Sichuan Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui – Dayi Wenhuaguan

Two other rectangular pit graves were discovered between May and June 1984 at about 1.5 km from the south gate of the town (SWGW-DW 1987). They were orientated at 20 degree NE and did not contain coffins. M18 (394 x 176 cm; depth 103 cm) had a layer of white clay covering the bottom (thick. 5 cm) and the pit walls (1cm). The grave goods were mainly concentrated in the north part, while on the west a fragment of a wooden axe, with *banliang* coins and a bronze seal, was still preserved. M19 (370 x 190 cm; depth 104 cm) had the same layer of white clay (1 cm) and a similar assemblage of grave goods, divided in pottery vessels, mainly placed in the north part, and bronze weapons, in the south.

The pottery (tot. 54 vessels, but only 41 reconstructed) is for the most part fragmented and include 21 flat-base *guan*, 11 *fu*, two basins, 13 *dou*, three *hu* and four covers; the fabric is grey clayish ware, grey sandy ware and buff ware, hand made or wheel thrown, and decorated with corded or string patterns.

Table 3.22 Dayi Wulong (84DWM18-19)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
84DWM18*	rPc	19	3	1		2		1	3		29
84DWM19*	rP	22	9	2	1	3		1	4		42
		41	11	3	1	5		2	7		71

The bronze assemblage includes four *jian*, two *ge*, two *mao*, one crossbow's mechanism, two *zun*, one *fu*, one steamer, one *mou*, one helmet, three belt-hooks, two

seals, 32 coins and three bridge-shape ornaments. A few iron objects were also found: one *jian*, two *jin* axes, one *xiao* knife and three *lian* chisels.

The presence of *banliang* coins with rectangular uneven characters and written in the *xiaozhuan* script with thicker and narrower strokes suggest a dating around the Qin dynasty and a local casting of the coins. The assemblage has also been compared with Fuling Xiaotianxi (SB 1974). It has also to be noted that the adoption of seals and iron objects can be related to a late date.

3.2.5 Mianzhu Qingdao 绵 竹 清 道 (78MQM1-2)

Sichuan Museum – Mianzhu Wenhuaguan

The site of Mianzhu Qingdao is located NW of Chengdu and at 25 km N of Shifang. In September 1978 the wooden axes of a burial were found in Mianzhu district in the area of the Qingdao *gongshe*. The excavation led to the discovery of another burial (no. 2) placed in the same pit at a distance of 2 m. and with the same orientation as the first one; they are probably two sections of a multiple burial (SB-MZW 1983: 296) (fig. 3.12/1). The bottoms of the two burials were formed with wooden axes, placed on a 10 cm layer of white clay, on which the skeletons and the grave goods were placed. No other trace of coffins or wooden encasements were found. The grave goods include 36 pottery vessels, nine bronze objects and two iron objects.

Table 3.23 Mianzhu Qingdao (78MQM1-2)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
78MQM1	Wa	15			1			1	2		19
78MQM2	Wa	21	2	2	2	2					29
		36	2	2	3	2		1	2		48

The burials were identified as remains of the "Ba-Shu culture" based on the adoption of a straight *jian* type with symbols, the seals and the jars with round bottom and corded pattern. The presence of *banliang* coins of the early Han, *banliang* coins of the early Western Han, bronze *mou* and iron objects suggest a date at around the beginning of the Western Han dynasty (ibid.: 300). The site was probably part of the ancient Zhifang district during the Western Han dynasty. The use of wooden axes is also found in Mianyang.

3.3.6 Mianzhu Qingdao (76MQM1)

Sichuan Museum

The grave found in 1976 in Mianzhu is a boat-coffin burial, orientated along the NS axis and with a coffin (5.3 x 0.6/0.9 m; 0.56 m height) made out of a single tree trunk cut straight at one end and slightly upward at the other (SB-Wang 1987) (fig. 3.12/1). The grave goods are more than 150, including 75 bronze weapons, 23 bronze vessels, 54 bronze objects, two belt-hooks and only pottery fragments; with the exception of the weapons, placed within the coffin, the other objects were all found randomly distributed.

Table 3.24 Mianzhu Qingdao (76MQM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
76 MQM1	BC	frag.	77	23	54	2					156

Comparisons have been made with the grave no. 10 of Baihuatan, taking as examples the *ge* types II-IV, the *mao* with long handle, the *shao* types I-II, the *xiao* and the pointed base box. The steamer *fuzeng* melt into two distinct sections, the *ge* type VII and the decorated *fanghu* vase were instead attributed to a later phase. Although some goods resemble those found in Xindu Majia, dated to the early phase of the mid Warring States period, others are similar to the burial M172 in Yangzishan and Fuling Xiaotianxi dated to the late Warring States/ Western Han period. As the grave in Mianzhu lack the bronze *ding* with short and thick legs and the *fuzeng* with four small feet, it was dated around the mid-late Warring States period (ibid.: 33). It has to be noted the complete absence of a grave pit and the laying of the coffin into a layer of gravel.

3.3.7 Pengxian Taiping 彭 县 太 平 (80PTM1)

Sichuan Wenguanhui

In 1980 a boat-coffin grave was found in Pengxian (SWGW et al. 1985); the pit (8.6 x 1.4 m), filled with mixed soil (*wuhuatu*) and oriented along the NS axis, contained a coffin (7.4 x 1.25/1.10 m; height 0.66/0.55) with an inner compartment for the deceased and the grave goods and two straight-cut ends with symmetric holes to tighten ropes (fig. 3.12/2). The grave had already been partially robbed but 11 objects

were still found in the north section. They include one *yue*, one *ge*, one *jin*, seven arrows and one *huang* ornament.

Table 3.25 Pengxian Taiping (80PTM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
80PTM1	BC	frag.		9		1					11

The burial was compared to the graves of Dayi and Pujiang, and its grave goods to those found in Xindu Majia; a date of around the mid-late Warring States was thus given (ibid.: 93).

3.3.8 Pixian Chenguang 郫 县 晨 光 (66PCM1)

Pixian Wenhuaguan

The remains of a boat coffin, measuring 4.2 x 1.2 m, were found in Pixian (Pixian wenhuaguan 1980) (fig. 2.5/7); the preserved grave goods were three bronze weapons (one *jian*, one *mao* and one *ge*), one *fu* vessel and two coins. The *ge* weapons is inscribed with characters already found in another example from Hongguang *gongshe*.

Table 3.26 Pixian Chenguang (66PCM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	I	L	C	T
66PCM1	BC		4	1							5

The burial has been attributed to the Shu state and dated to the Warring States period.

3.3.9 Pixian Guchengxiang 郫 县 古 成 乡 (97PG)

Chengdu Archaeological Unit – Pixian Museum

At about 8 km N of Pixian city, in the area of the old town, 14 burials were found in 1997 (fig. 2.5/7). They comprise 12 rectangular pit graves and 2 brick burials (M9, M10), mainly orientated along a NE-SW axis, and with dimensions varying between three-four meters in length and 1.5-2.4 in width. The grave goods comprise 113 pottery vessels, one bronze belt-hook, four iron *jian* and two iron nails.

Table 3.27 Pixian Guchengxiang (97PG)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
97PGM6	rP	11									WZ	11
97PGM7	rP	16							1		HQ-WZ	17
97PGM8	rP	4										4
97PGM9	B	17							1		WZ	17
97PGM10	B	16									HQ-WZ	16
97PGM11	rP	8				1			2			8
97PGM14	rP	11									WZ	11
97PGM15	rP	10							1		WZ	10
97PGM16	rP	15										15
97PGM17	rP	8									HQ	8
97PGM18	rP	8										8
97PGM21	rP	9							1		WZ	10
97PGM22	rP	9									WZ	9
97PGM23	rP	19										19
TOT		113				1			6			120

The two brick burials (B) were dated to the Eastern Han dynasty, while the pit-graves to the Western Han period. The *wuzhu* coins were first produced during the fifth year of Yuanshou reign in Han Wudi (118 BC); the *huoquan* coins were instead mint during the Wang Mang reign.

3.3.10 Pujiang Dongbei 浦 江 东 北 (82PDM1-2)

Sichuan Province Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui

Two pit graves with a single-trunk coffin were respectively discovered in 1981 and 1982 on the east side of the Pujiang river and on the east of the road Chengdu-Pujiang at half km from Pujiang city (SWGW-PWG 1985) (2.5/12). The graves were originally laid below a small mound, which has now been totally dismantled. Grave no. 1 (184 x 134 cm; depth 231cm), orientated at 235 degree, rectangular, with straight walls and flat bottom, had a thin layer of greyish white clay (thick.: 12-14 cm) on the bottom, where the coffin was laid, and on the four walls. The coffin (726 x 90/102 cm; height 59 cm) was carved out a single piece of *nan* tree, cut in two halves and rounded in the interior part in order to place the body and the grave goods; at both sides there were two holes used to tie ropes for lowering the coffin inside the pit. Following the decay of the cover, the white clay layer above it leaked inside (thickness: 15 cm). The grave goods were placed at both ends and the deceased, not preserved, possibly in the mid part (fig. 3.12/3).

Grave no. 2 (802 x 286 cm; depth 202 cm), orientated at 237 degrees and similar to the first, also had a thin layer of greyish white clay on the bottom (thick. 14 cm), on the four walls and in between the two coffins laid in the pit. The coffins are similar to

the one in grave no. 1, except for the dimensions (A: 706 x 98/104 h 69 cm; B: 718 x 108/144 h 69). Although the covers were already decayed, it was possible to detect that they were made out of the same trunk cut in two halves and covered by a layer of white clay, which sealed the entire coffin. The grave goods were placed at both ends in coffin A, except for a bronze knife and a seal in the centre, and more randomly in coffin B (3.12/4).

Most of the grave goods is constituted by sandy grey ware pottery, and include various types of *guan* (tot. 12) and *dou* (tot. 7). The bronze objects only include one *yue*, one scraper *zu*, three *xiao* knives and one seal. In the pit there were also found fragments of bamboo and lacquer remains.

Table 3.28 Pujiang Dongbei (82PDM1-2)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
82PDM1	BC	6	2		1						9
82PDM2a	BC	22			1						23
82PDM2b	BC	18			2			1			21
		46	2		4			1			53

The authors of the report suggest a similar date for both graves. Due to the higher proportion of pottery, not varied in morphological features and mainly with round bases, the low number of bronze objects and the lack of iron objects and coins, the burials were dated to the early Warring States period. The covered *dou*, similar to the bronze example unearthed in Xindu (SB-XWG 1981), is considered to have morphological traits datable from the Spring and Autumn period to the beginning of the Warring States period. The *dou* with shallow cup and short stem, together with the bronze seal (and its cover), and especially the characters *zi* and *lei*, are also similar to examples in Xindu. The construction techniques and the use of coffins made out of single trunks also connect these two burials to Xindu. The date has been fixed at the mid Warring States period.

The coffins are considered to belong to the tradition of graves with wooden coffins made out of tree trunks, and not necessarily to the "boat coffin" graves. The authors link them to the Shu people living in west Sichuan, while the use of white clay, as in Xindu, Chengdu Xijiao and Yangzishan, is connected to the influence of the Chu people. The grave goods assemblages have also been linked to the "Shu culture" or to groups of people who transferred to west Sichuan at the time of the advent of Beiling of Chu during the Kaiming clan period (SWGW-PWG 1985: 21-22).

3.3.11 Xindu Majia 新 都 马 家 (80XMM1)

Sichuan Museum – Xindu Wenwu Guanlisuo

The burial of Majia Xindu (fig. 2.5/8), discovered in 1980, was a wooden encasement *guo* having an EW orientation and buried in a shaft (10.45 x 9.2 m, depth 3.63 m) with an inclined access ramp at its west side; the walls were covered with a 3 cm thick layer of green clay (SB-XWG 1981). The *guo* (8.3 x 6.76 m) stands on two wooden beams (9.41 and 9.68 long) disposed on the bottom of the pit, and was made of 34 long and 12 short axes of *nan* wood: 20 for the bottom, 8 for the external walls and 4 for the internal walls which divided the encasement in three sections; these were further divided by shorter beams into three small compartments on the N and S side and other two at both ends of the central part (4.76 x 2.88 m) where the coffin was contained (fig. 3.18). The internal surface of the *guo* still retained traces of red painting. The original cover was not preserved (SB 1981: 1-2, figg.1-3). The coffin was carved out from a single trunk of around 1.40 cm in diameter and 4.14 long: one end was cut straight, the other had a concave shape, and the internal walls were also curved. It was painted with black lacquer on the external surface and on the bottom, and in red lacquer on the internal surface, with sparse gold remains. Below the bottom of the *guo* another small wooden encasement was built in a pit (*yaokeng* or waist-pit) and sealed with white clay; it was preserved by the looting of the tomb and it contained 188 bronze vessels and objects. Only a few grave goods were found in the upper part of the *guo*: arrows and crossbow components, two seals and two belt-hooks inlaid with silver and gold, sparse pottery *fu*, *guan* and *dou*, lacquer remains, and glass beads.

Table 3.28a Xindu Majia (80XMM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
80XMM1*	Gc	4	65		12	4	2	2		2	91
80XMM1 (pit)			55	54	77						186
TOT		4	120	54	89	4	2	2		2	277

The overall structure of the *guo* reproduces the model of the largest tombs built in the Chu area (Henan and Hubei) around 350 BC (Thote 2001: 214), although the adoption of a coffin made from a single trunk seems to imitate the local boat-coffins custom, and the construction of a separate compartment is similar to the Moutuo tomb in western Sichuan (ibid.: 215). The large dimensions of the tomb and the disposal of an

extensive quantity of bronze vessels in sets of two and five, according to a procedure unique for the region, suggest that the burial belonged to a Shu king (SB 1981: 11) or at least to a member of the highest aristocracy. The *fuhao* pictogram found on one of the seals, depicting two figures joining hands above a *lei* vessel and interpreted as a symbol of a political or military alliance (Thote 2001: 238), was also connected to a ruling Shu house.

The grave goods include 60 weapons, mainly reproducing shapes and decorations typical of the region, except for five hilted swords which were possibly made in the Chu region (ibid.: 246). The lack of dagger-axe *ge* with long extensions *hu* characteristic of the later Warring States period, the absence of common zoomorphic symbols like tiger, bird or hand, and the scarce presence of *fuhao* script, usually associated to a later period, suggest an earlier dating around the beginning-mid Warring States period, before the Qin invasion of 316 BC (SB-XWG 1981: 11). This archaeological evidence has also been supported by the sections of the *Huayang Guozhi* referring to the Shu kings and to the transfer of the capital from Pi to Chengdu after the advent of the Kaiming clan from the Chu region; this event is set by the same source during the IX of the twelve periods of reign of the Shu kings before the conquest of Qin (SB-XWG 1981: 11) and is also used to explain the presence of a Chu style among the grave goods. Apart from a set of five vessels *lei*, which seem to be a local production imitating an ancient Western Zhou model (ibid.: 215-16, fig. 12b), the other bronze vessels, like *ding*, *dui*, *lei* and *fou*, are instead closely connected to the production of the Chu area of the beginning of the Warring States period (ibid.: 217).

3.4 NORTH SICHUAN

3.4.1 Mianyang Raw Material Factory 绵 阳 (79MDM1)

The only remains of a rectangular pit-grave (3.1 x 4.7 m) found in Mianyang (fig. 2.5/3) in 1979 are five wooden axes laid on two beams, which formed its bottom, and a layer of white clay below; no other traces of coffins or encasements were found (Zhao 1983b). The grave was already robbed and four objects were still preserved: one weapon, one belt-hook, one iron axe, one jade object and a few fragments of pottery and lacquer.

Table 3.29 Mianyang (79MDM1)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
82PDM1	Wa	frag.	1			1	1		1		4

The burial was dated to the Western Han dynasty.

3.4.2 Mianyang Yongxing 绵 阳 永 兴 (92MSM1)

Mianyang Museum

The burial MSM1 was found in the Yulongyuan village in Yongxing municipality, in a locality called Shuangbaoshan (MB-MY 1996) (fig. 2.5/4). It is a *guo* grave (7.5 x 6.7) with 5 inner coffins and an access slope; the walls, bottom and cover have a layer of white clay (fig. 3.21/2). The coffins are made either with a single piece of wood to which the short sides and the cover are added (A) or with five different pieces joined together and resting on two cylindrical beams (B). Although the grave was already robbed at the time of discovery a total number of 330 grave goods were found inside. They include 280 pottery objects, made of clayish grey ware and mainly fragmented: *guan* (6), *fu* (5), *zeng* (1), *hu* (1), *pen* (1), bells (9), *yong* figurines (7), round beads (100) and disks (150); 15 lacquer objects, made on a base of pottery (10) or wood (5); 11 wooden objects, mainly figurines, 12 bronzes and 13 iron objects. The coins were of *wuzhu* type.

Table 3.30 Mianyang (92MSM1)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	Bd	Gd	I	L	C	TOT
92MSM1	Gc	280 (25)			1	10	11	1	13	15	WZ	331

The number in brackets refers to the number of grave goods recorded in the database

The burial is dated to the end of the Western Han period.

3.4.3 Mianyang Yongxing (95MSM2)

Sichuan Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo – Mianyang Museum

The burial discovered in Mianyang in 1995 is a rectangular pit (24.2 x 6.56 m, depth 4.4) containing a large *guo* (19.3 x 10.5, height 3.33) protected by a layer of white clay (SWKY-MB 1996). The *guo* has an entrance with sliding doors and is divided into a front (*qian*) and a back (*hou*) section; the front part (11 x 9.72 m) is divided into five compartments, two at each side and a central one. They all contain a large amount of wooden figurines, lacquered figurines and vessels, pottery vessels and iron objects. The back section (5.54 x 4.92) contained a lacquered coffin. The grave was robbed several times; the remaining objects include 300 pottery items, among which 230 small disks and one example of *hu* made in proto-porcelain, 472 lacquer items, a small amount of bronze and iron objects and 125 wooden items.

Table 3.31 Mianyang (95MSM2)

tomb	type	P	W	V	bD	glD	Bd	G	I	L	S	TOT
95MSM2	Gc	300 (67)	3	3	1	8	125 (17)	1	20	472 (32)	1	152 (913)

The number in brackets refers to the number of grave goods recorded in the database

The burial, which is one of the largest discovered in Sichuan region, has been dated within the fifth year of the Yuanshou period in Han Wudi reign (ibid.: 28).

3.4.4 Qingchuanxian 青 川 城 郊 (72QM1-72)

Sichuan Museum – Qingchuan Wenhuaguan

A cluster of 72 burials was excavated from 1979 to 1980 south of the district city Qingchuan (SB-QW 1982) (fig. 2.5/1). The site is located on a terraced platform at 300 m W of the Qiaozhuang river where the burials were lined along the slope at a distance

of 5-7 m apart and with the same orientation along the NW-SE axis (fig. 3.3). All the burials were simple rectangular pits excavated into a yellowish soil and filled with the same soil which was sometimes mixed with white clay; the average proportion of the sides is 1.3:1. There were four different types of grave lay-out: a wooden encasement *guo* with an inner coffin (45) (fig. 3.21/1), a simple *guo* with no coffin (3), a pit with a wooden coffin (11), and a simple pit with no *guo* and coffins (13). The first type is the most widely used: the *guo* is constructed of wooden axes for the the long and short sides which are fixed together with the tenon and mortise system, the base is usually made by 2 or 3 axes and the cover by 4 to 9; on the cover there are usually laid 2 or 3 layers of tree birch (*huashu*) , covered by 10-30 cm of white clay and 5-15 cm of sandy soil, then sealed with the excavated soil. Below the *guo* base a layer of white clay is usually found, from 5 cm to 2 m, as well as along the four sides of the encasement. In some cases the *guo* rests on two longitudinal boards. The coffin is then placed either directly on the bottom of the *guo* or standing on wooden boards (ibid.: 3). The coffins are divided into five different types according to the construction technique they were made: in the type A the bottom and the cover both have a cut groove along the edges where to fix the walls; in type B squared wooden pieces are inserted into the holes made along the walls (2 for each side) and corresponding to other holes made in the wooden axes of the bottom; type C resembles type A but the bottom is slightly suspended; type D (tot. 13) has no cover and the coffin is divided by a central axe into two compartments, one for the grave goods (*bianxiang*) and the other for the deceased; in type E, with no covers, the coffin has no bottom and the dead is placed directly on the bottom of the *guo* (ibid.: 3-4). In a few cases the pit has protruding walls of rammed earth, like M16. The grave goods are usually placed around the coffin, the bronze objects at the feet and the others on the three sides, while ornaments for the individual are contained in the coffin. In the case of graves with no *guo* and only one coffin, placed in the middle or at one side of the shaft, the grave goods are placed at the head or along the sides of the coffin, very rarely inside. In the simple pits with no *guo* and coffins the grave goods are placed around the deceased.

Only for a few burials, whose plans were published in the report, it was possible to have a full recording of the layout and their grave goods (M1 and M23) while for the others no summary tables were provided. The total number of grave goods includes 124 pottery vessels (49 recorded), 58 bronze objects (19 rec.), 177 lacquer objects (28 rec.), 50 wooden and bamboo objects (8 rec.), including two wooden stripes with inscriptions

regarding land management (in M50), a few jade and glass ornaments, and *banliang* coins (in M50). The site could only be partly used for statistical analysis (chapters 5-6), more widely for cross-comparisons.

Table 3.32 Qingchuan (72QM1 and 72QM23)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	Wd	L	C	TOT
72QM1	Gc	2		2		1	1	4	18		28
72QM23	Gc	7							3		10
		9		2		1	1	4	21		38

Only the burial M50 provided some dating evidence in the form of written wooden stripes and *banliang* coins, which were probably locally produced, although following the model of the Qin coins. The date for the burial M50 was fixed to the late Warring States period, around the first year of the Zhao king (306 BC) (ibid.:12-13). The remaining graves were dated to the mid Warring States period (IV cent) if characterised by a funerary assemblage composed by *ding*, *dou* and *hu*, and to the late phase of the same period (end of the IV cent-first half of the III cent. BC) if it included *ding*, *he* and *hu* (ibid.: 13). The use of white clay and the grave goods assemblages were similar to the Chu tradition, especially to the ritual set made by the pottery *ding*, *dui* and *hu*; on the other hand, the high proportion of pottery vessels, the small percentage of bronze objects and the lack of bronze weapons suggest that the graves belonged to those immigrants transferred by the Qin government from the Central Plain to the Chengdu Plain after the Qin conquest in 316 BC, and not to local people, although a few types can also be found in boat coffins and simple pits of the same period. The lacquer objects were also locally produced, probably in Chengdu, and seem to have many common traits with vessel types of the Qin workshops (ibid.:12).

3.4.5 Zhaohuaxian Baolunyuan 昭 化 县 宝 轮 院 (54GZM1-15)

Sichuan Museum

The site of Baolunyuan is located at 25 km E from Guangyuan and at 10 km SE from the old town of Zhaohua (long. E 105°38' – Lat. N 32°22'), at the confluence of the Bailong and the Jialing rivers (fig. 2.5.2). An overall number of 15 burials, all oriented along the NS axis, was found on a platform of 340 x 140 m limited by two rivers: nine boat coffins (figs. 3.19), four pits with wooden coffins (3.20/2-3) and two damaged burials, probably boat coffins (SB 1960) (fig. 3.20/1) (fig. 3.1); an example of *guo* grave

was found on the N side. The best preserved boat coffins are M11, M12, M14 and M15 (SB 1960: 14-16, figs. 8, 9, 10, 11) (figs. 3.19/2-3). The dimensions of the pit are however not clear, since the graves were largely destroyed during building works, but the lenght seem to range from 2.5 to 4 m. In a few cases a small wooden coffin was placed in the cavity (M3, M6, M11, M12, M14 and M15) (ibid, figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17); these internal coffins are carved from a single trunk and divided into two compartments (M12) or made with wooden axes joined together (M11, M14, M15, M41) (figs. 3.19/2-3). The arms of the deceased were along his/her body, usually towards the side closer to the river. The grave goods were placed in different positions within the grave: the *jian* sword at one side of the deceased, the *xiao* and belt-hook at the waist, the *mao* on the left side, and in only two cases there was a bronze basin placed near the head; other personal ornaments were all distributed near the body. Pottery and bronze vessels were placed at the feet of the deceased. The same layout was followed in the case of a wooden coffin placed within the trunk, where the personal belongings were gathered inside and the pottery and bronze vessels outside the coffin. The best preserved pit with a wooden coffin was M13: it was composed of a wooden encasement resting on two beams with concave grooves where to fix two wooden axes forming the bottom; four axes joined together make the walls, while another one was used as cover. A small wooden coffin was contained inside (ibid.: 27, fig. 26) (fig. 3.20/3).

Table 3.33 Guangyuan Zhaohua (54GZM1-15)

Tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	T
54GZM1*	BC	16	2	1								19
54GZM2	eP	8										8
54GZM3*	BCc	11	2	3		2					BL	18
54GZM4*	rPc	10										10
54GZM5*	BC	15		1								16
54GZM6*	BCc	8		1	1			1			BL	11
54GZM7*	rP	8							1			9
54GZM8	BC	9										9
54GZM9	eP	9										9
54GZM10*	eP	19	5	2					1		BL	27
54GZM11*	BCc	12	1		2					1	BL	16
54GZM12*	BCc	5	1							1	BL	7
54GZM13*	Gc	15	6	4	1					4	BL	30
54GZM14*	BCc	12	4	2	1	1				5	BL	25
54GZM15*	BCc	16	3	1							BL	20
TOT		173	24	15	5	3	2	1	2	11		247

A total number of 247 grave goods was found in the burials: 173 pottery vessels, 24 bronze weapons, 15 bronze vessels, five bronze objects, three ornaments, two glass objects, one seal, two iron pieces, and 11 lacquer vessels. The number of each category

of pottery vessels is included in the published summary tables together with the burials of Baxian Dongsunba: 17 *dou*, 76 *guan* with round bases, 51 *guan* with flat base, 10 *meng*, six *pen*, one *fu* etc. (SB 1960: 138-140).

Due to the presence of *banliang* coins most of the burials are dated to the mid-late Warring States period (end of the IV cent- first half of the III cent. BC).

3.4.6 Zhaohua Baolunyuan (95GZM16-24)

Sichuan Wenwu Kaogu yanjiusuo – Guangyuan Wenwu Guanlisuo

In 1995 another cluster of nine boat-coffin burials was found in Baolunyuan, on the same slope facing the river where 15 other burials were excavated in 1954 (SWKY-GWG 1998). The graves, located SE from the first group, were all orientated along the NW/SE axis and lined at a distance of 3-5 m (fig. 3.1). The pits, filled with a yellowish soil (*wuhuatu*) sometimes mixed with white clay, had an elongated shape with a proportion of 4:1 or 5:1 between their length and width, except for grave M16 which was a rectangular pit possibly of later date (beginning of Western Han). A layer of yellow soil mixed with white clay was also laid below the coffin, while its two sides were flanked by a protruding platform (*ercengtai*) 15-20 cm in width and about 20 cm higher than the coffin. The coffin was either a single trunk carved inside and with straight ends, or had two upward bent ends resembling a boat (M17); in the case of grave M17 a wooden compartment was placed inside the trunk for the deceased and its personal belongings.

A list of grave goods is recorded in the report although no summary table for each individual grave is provided, except for M17. The pottery includes a total number of 137 vessels: 29 *guan* with flat base (nine recorded), 56 *guan* with round base (six rec.), three *weng*, five *hu* (three rec.), 21 *fu* (four rec.), 16 *dou* (eight rec.), one *pen*, four *bo* and two weaving wheels (one rec.). The ware is mainly sandy and in some cases silty, the colour generally buff, red or grey and only rarely black, and the manufacture include wheel-thrown and less often hand-made or moulding. The bronzes (tot. 48) include 12 weapons, 17 vessels (three rec.), four belt-hooks (one rec.), one ornament, four seals (three with Ba-Shu symbols and one with ideograms), and 10 *banliang* coins. Two iron objects were found in grave M16.

Table 3.34 Guangyuan Zhaohua (95GZM16-24)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	C	TOT
95GZM16	rp	3							2	2 BL	5
95GZM17 *	BC	23	4	2							29
95GZM18	BC	8	1	1						3 BL	10
95GZM19	BC	1	1					1 BS		5 BL	3
95GZM20	BC	1	1								2
95GZM21	BC	2	3			2		1 H			8
95GZM22	BC	2	1								3
95GZM23	BC	8						1 BS			9
95GZM24	BC	3	1					1 BS			5
		57	12	3		2		4	2		80

The *banliang* coins found in some of the graves have been compared to those unearthed in Qingchuan (SB-QW 1982) and dated to the Qin period around the end of the IV cent. (late Warring States period). Burial M16 is dated to the beginning of the Western Han dynasty due to the presence of *banliang* coins together with iron objects. The burials are generally attributed to a Ba-Shu culture developed in an area of contacts between different peoples, and immediately before the Qin conquest (ibid.: 211).

3.5 SOUTH-WEST SICHUAN

3.5.1. Qianwei Jinjing 犍 为 金 井 (77JJM1-4) – Wulian 五 联 (77JWM1-7)

Sichuansheng bowuguan- Qianweixian wenhuaguan- Emeixian wenguansuo

In 1977 a total number of 11 burials were discovered in a hilly area of Qianwei district in two different localities placed at a distance of about 1 km apart (SB 1983b) (fig. 2.5/18). Jinjing is at the SW opening of a natural mound (*ba*) with an area of about 60 *mu* (1 *mu* is about 1 ha) surrounded by ravines and hills. Wulian is located on a platform of around 100 *mu* at the edge of a mountain, where the burials are lined on the slope of the hill along the NS axis. Both places have a soil suitable for agricultural activities. The burials were all rectangular pit graves, with the aperture larger than the bottom, and were orientated according to the features of the terrain, with the head towards the top and the feet towards the bottom of the mountain. The Jinjing graves were thus placed along the EW axis, with the head on the east side, and Wulian along the NS axis with the head towards the north. No coffins were found inside and from the sparse bone remains it was suggested that the graves contained a single individual with streched arms.

Table 3.35 Qianwei (77JJM1-4 and 77JWM1-7)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
77JJM1	rP	12	3									15
77JJM2	rP	33										33
77JJM3	rP	9										9
77JJM4	rP	8										8
77JWM1	rP		1		2			1		1		5
77JWM2	rP	8					2	1				11
77JWM3	rP	13		1					2			16
77JWM4	rP	4										4
77JWM5	rP	3	1		2	3	1			1		11
77JWM6	rP	2	2	1	1							6
77JWM7	rP	5			3		2					10
		99	7	2	8	7	4	2	2	2		125

The grave goods (122) include pottery, generally made with a sandy buff ware, and a few bronze and iron objects. Apart from belt hooks, little *xiao* knives, seals and weapons, which were placed near the body of the deceased, the other goods occupied one end or one side of the pit. The pottery includes 43 *fu*, 19 *guan*, six *dou*, two *hu*, three *bo* bowls, three *wan* bowls, three *meng* basins, one *pen* basin, five boxes and one ring; most of the vessels have round bases with corded pattern, while vessels with

pointed or flat base or with round foot are quite rare. The bronze objects include one *ge*, two *mao*, two *jian*, two *yue*, seven *xiao* knives, one carving knife, one steamer, one *mou*, three seals and two bracelets. Among the remaining objects there are iron scrapers and glass beads.

A dating of the late Warring States period has been suggested due to the presence of a flat salix-leaf *jian* without *ge*, a short-handled *mao*, and the seals. M3 and M5 in Wulian seem to date to the Western Han period due to the presence in grave no. 3 of a seal with *lianhu* decoration, usually attributed to the beginning of the Western Han dynasty, and in grave no. 3 of an iron chisel and a three footed steamer, similar to examples unearthed in Western Han burials in Chengdu Dongbeijiao, Hubei Yunmeng (HB et al. 1973) and Fuling Xiaotianxi (SB 1974).

The district of Qianwei is a mountainous area near Yibin, identified as the ancient Bodao district in Qin and Han times, and inhabitated by the Bo people until the IV cent. BC. After the Qin conquest in 316 BC and the defeat of Wuyang (present Pengshan district) by the Shu kings the historical sources record an intense movement of people (identified as Shu) towards the mountainous areas of south Sichuan (Leshan and Emeishan districts); these graves have thus been interpreted as the material remains of the Shu people or their descendants (SB 1983b: 785).

3.5.2 Qianwei Jinjing (80JJM1)

Sichuansheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui

Another pit grave, located in the middle of a platform in front of a mountain, was discovered in 1980 in the same area of Jinjing (SWGW-Wang 1984) (fig. 2.5/18). The grave (300 x 120 cm; left depth 40 cm) was badly preserved and did not contain bone remains. From the disposal of the grave goods it was suggested that the deceased had the head orientated towards north.

The grave goods (tot. 24) include, among the bronze objects: three *jian*, two *mao*, two *yue,* two knives, one *fu* axe, three *mou*, one *fu*, one bronze steamer, three bronze seals, and among the pottery: three *fu*, two *guan* and one *dou*.

Table 3.36 Jinjing (80JJM1)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
80JJM1	rP	6	7	5	3			3				24

The burial is considered characteristic of Shu culture due to the presence of flat salix leaf-shaped *jian*, flask shaped *yue*, short handled *mao* and round base vessels with corded pattern, and has been dated to the mid-late Warring States period.

3.5.3 Qianwei Jinjing Wanniancun 金 井 万 年 村 (84JJM5-M6)

Sichuansheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui

Two pit graves were excavated in 1984 in the Wannian village in Jinjing after the accidental discovery of 10 bronze objects (SWGW 1990b) (fig. 2.5/18). The burials, placed at a distance of about 1 m apart and orientated at 60 degrees NW, are cut in a yellow soil and filled with mixed soil (*wuhuatu*). Burial M5 (376 x 325 cm; distance from top 112 cm) had a rectangular pit in the middle (160 x 70 cm; depth 32 cm) but no remains of coffins or skeleton. There is only one other example of this type of lay-out. The grave goods, mainly pottery, were concentrated in the SE corner, while the inner pit mostly contained bronze weapons randomly distributed.

Burial M6 (302 x 210) had a protruding platform, not found in other examples, for half of its width towards the SE side. The 70 grave goods were placed in the pit, mainly in the south part and on the platform. They include pottery vessels made of sandy or clayish ware and fired at low temperature (seven *dou*, 16 *fu*, two round base *guan*, two flat base *guan*, two bowls, one steamer, one tripod *ding*), bronze objects (three *mou*, two *fu*, one steamer, one basin *pen*, and four *jian*, one *mao*, two *yue*, two *jin* axes, three knives and four seals), together with a small jade ornament.

Table 3.37 Qianwei (84JJM5-6)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
84JJM5*	sP	13	5		3		1					22
84JJM6*	rP	18	2	7	2			4				33
		31	7		5		1	4				55

The steamer is the only existing example similar to that of Dayi Wulong (SWGW-DW 1985). The *ding* has the short legs of a later period, while the small dimension of the *fu* was interpreted with their possible use as *mingqi*. The burials have thus been dated to the late Warring States period or around the Qin conquest.

3.5.4 Tongxincun 同 心 村 (87YTM1-4)

Yingjing bowuguan

The district town of Yingjing is located at a point of confluence of the Ying and Jing rivers and surrounded by mountains (fig. 2.5/15, 3.6/3). Yingjing, called Yandao during the Warring States period, is recorded in the texts at least since 312 BC; it comprised the area west of the Qinyi river (Lushan, Yaan, Mingshan) and was the starting point of the Mouniudao (The Yak road). Lingguan, at the cross between Lushan and Baoxing, constituted the frontier of the Shu kingdom. As the Qionglai mountains occupy the frontier region between the present Yingjing and Hanyuan districts, the ancient city of Yandao had an important strategic position within the Shu kingdom. The contacts between the Shu and the southern Qiong and Zuo people also took place in this area. After the Qin conquest, the frontier territories of Shu became the limits of the government, and it is possible that frontier garrisons were sent to the place because of its strategic position. Many burials dated from the Spring and Autumn period to the Qin/Han dynasty have been discovered in the sites of Tongxincun, Nanluoba, Zengjiagou and Lietai.

In 1987 four grave pits were discovered in the northern part of Yingjing city in an area occupied by paddy fields (YB 1996), at about 300 m SW from the group of burials found in 1984-1985 (85YTM1-5). They were all placed along the NS axis and did not contain coffins or bones. The only quite well preserved grave was M2 (215 x 80 cm; left depth 26 cm), filled with a yellowish soil, and containing 18 grave goods, mainly pottery, concentrated in the north part, and a few bronze objects, distributed at the centre and north part of the grave.

The pottery grave goods (tot. 38) are characterised by a grey or buff sandy ware, fired at low temperature and with an uneven colour; they were probably hand-made and successively refined on a slow wheel. The surface is plain or with a corded pattern. They include 22 *dou* (only four recorded), mainly with a large bell-shaped foot, seven small *guan* (two recorded), nine *fu* (one recorded) and an uncertain number of *guan* with round base and globular body. The bronzes (tot. 17) are divided into one *ge*, three *mao*, four *jian*, three arrows, one carving knife, one *xiao* knife, one *fu* axe, one *dui* vessel and one *mou*. Only burial 87YTM2 was completely recorded (YB 1996: 41, fig. 1).

Table 3.38 Tongxincun (87YTM1-4)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
87YTM1	rP	1	2	2	2							7
87YTM2*	rP	13	4		1							18
87YTM3	rP		3									3
87YTM4	rP	3	1									4
TOT		17	10	2	3							32

The small pottery *guan*, with a flat base and inverted mouth, are similar to examples in Sanxingdui (SWGW 1987); the *dou*, which resembles a small *guan* with a rounded foot, is similar to those unhearthed in Xinfan (SB 1959a), while the *dui*, considered influenced by a Chu style, to that of Xindu (SB-XWG 1981). The *jian* container seems to be peculiar to this site. Despite the presence of bronze weapons in "Ba-Shu" style, the lack of iron objects and seals suggest a dating to the mid Warring States period (YB 1996: 44).

3.5.5 Tongxincun (86YTM1-M25)

Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology of Sichuan - Yingjing Museum

The cemetery, excavated between November 1985 and May 1986, is located south of 500 m from the Ying river, 1 km east from the ancient city of Yandao and 2 km west from the confluence of the Ying and Jing rivers (SWKY-YB 1998) (fig. 3.6/3). It included 26 burials with a similar orientation along the SN axis (fig. 3.7). The pit-graves, with the opening larger than the bottom, ranged from 2.5 to 6.46 m in lengh and 0.68 to 1.63 m in width and were excavated at 0.4/1.6 m from the surface. The filling was a yellowish mixed soil (*wuhuatu*) with no sign of ramming or traces of white/bluish clay on the walls. Three graves were simple pits with bronze objects (M11) or bronze/iron goods (M8, M15) (fig. 3.23/5). All the others, except three seriously damaged (M1, M2, M3), had a layer (about 3 cm thick) of burnt wooden remains on the bottom. From their contours it was possible to detect a boat coffin shape with upward ends, a central cavity, a rounded or flat bottom and curved thin walls, with dimensions slightly smaller than the pit (fig. 3.23/1-4). The burials were further divided into four groups according to their assemblages; among them, M21a and M21b were superimposed and M22 was a child sepolture. From the bone remains found in some of the burials, the deceased seemed to have been placed at the center of the coffin, usually with extended arms and legs (M4, M6, M7, M9, M16) or with crossed legs (M10) or with only the right arm bent (M17). In all cases (as in M12, M13, M18, M19, M20,

M21 a-b, M22, M23, M24) the head was orientated towards north (river) and the feet to the south (mountain).

There are 719 grave goods made of pottery (465), bronze (220), iron (25), jade (7) and lacquer (11). Pottery and bronze vessels were generally placed at both ends of the coffin, bronze weapons near the head or the waist of the deceased, iron tools and seals near the waist and lacquer objects at both extremities of the coffin or again close to the waist. Only a very few grave goods were found outside the coffin.

Table 3.39 Tongxincun (86YTM1-25)

Tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
86YTM1	rP	1	5	4		1		1				12
86YTM2	rP	2										2
86YTM3	rP					1	1	2				4
86YTM4	BC	17							1			18
86YTM5	eP	14							1			15
86YTM6	BC	23	1	1		2		5	2	2		36
86YTM7*	BC	12	3	2		2		1	2			22
86YTM8*	eP	12							3			15
86YTM9	BC	9	4	2		2			1	4		22
86YTM10	BC	22		3		1			1	1		28
86YTM11*	eP	14				1		1				16
86YTM12	eP	13							1			14
86YTM13*	BC	14	1			1			3	1		20
86YTM14	BC	9		1					1			11
86YTM15*	eP	9							1			10
86YTM16	BC	23	4	3		1		4	3			38
86YTM17*	BC	29		3	2	2	1	5				42
86YTM18	BC	28	1	3		2		7	1	1		43
86YTM19	BC	26	6	3	1	3		2	1			42
86YTM20	BC	26	4	3	2	2	1	7	1			46
86YTM21a	BC	30	13	11	6	5		4	1	1		71
86YTM21b	BC	27	1	3	2	2	3	5				43
86YTM22	BC	11	2	2	1			2				18
86YTM23	BC	28	1	6	2	3		3				43
86YTM24	BC	34	8	3	1				4			50
86YTM25	BC	32		1	1	1		4	1	1		41
		465	54	52	18	32	5	53	29	11		719

Pottery objects are made with a sandy, and more rarely, clayish ware, generally buff, grey or red in colour, with a white, yellowish or greyish black slip, rarely polished, wheel-made and fired at a low and uneven temperature. The decorative designs are mainly of a corded pattern, together with pressed or punched decorations. Only 267 objects were reconstructed and classified into typologies: 165 *dou*, divided into five types, but mainly characterised by a bell-shaped foot, 13 *dou* with large cups (three types), 10 round-base *guan* (three types), 15 *fu* (four types), six looped *fu* (two types), three *mou* (two types), all with round bases and with looped *fu* and *mou* resembling bronze vessels, 13 flat base *guan* (four types), 17 flat-base *bo* bowls (five types), four round-base *bo* bowls (two types), eight basins *pen*, two jars *lei*, one jar *weng*, seven

covers and three pottery objects painted with lacquer, which were exclusively found at this site.

Bronze goods include 54 containers, comprising 18 *fu* (four types), 21 *mou* (three types), nine *pen* basins (two types), three *bo* bowls, one *zeng*, one *chi* and one jar *lei*; 58 weapons, divided into 11 *ge* (five types), 25 *mao* (three types), 14 *jian* (four types), one halberd *ji*, one *yue*, one *zun,* four arrows and the remain of a *jian* scabbard; 20 daily tools, including 10 *jin* axes (three types), four *fu* axes, one knife, one scraper, one carving knife, three *xiao* knives (two types); 54 bronze seals, divided in four groups, and 34 ornaments, comprising six belt-hooks, 15 bracelets, three chime bells, two *gou* buttons and eight ornaments of different shapes

Other grave goods include a group of objects made of bronze and iron (one *mou*, two *xiao* knives), and 22 iron objects (two *mou*, five knives, nine *fu* axes, six *xiao* knives). One of the major concentrations of bronze weapons is within M21a.

The authors date the graves to the late Warring States period, identifying as characteristic objects of the "Ba Shu culture" the round-footed *dou*, the round-base *guan* with small aperture and the round-base *fu*, together with the salix leaf-shaped *jian* or the *ge* with a triangular blade or with a central *hu*. The assemblages are compared with those of Baxian Dongsunba and Zhaohua Baolunyuan (SB 1960) due to the presence of specific classes of objects, such as flat base *guan*, basins *pen* and *lei* resembling bronze examples, and inscribed seals. The date is comparable to the later stage of Dongsunba and Baolunyuan, characterised by the presence of *banliang* coins, small iron objects, flat base *guan* and inscribed seals, as opposed to the earlier period characterised by the lack of iron objects, coins and sparse seals. However, the lack of *banliang* coins suggests to fix the Tongxincun date to the end of the Warring States period and the period of the Qin conquest. Further comparisons with late Warring States burials are made referring to the jar *lei* found in Xiaotianxi (SB 1974) and Mianzhu Qingdao (SB-Wang 1987), or to the basins *pen*, jars *weng* and decorated seals found in Dayi Wulong (SWGW-DW 1987), or the flat base *guan* found in a Qin/Han *guo* burial in Yingjing.

Elements of an earlier date were identified in a *mao* (M21a:26) of similar shape and decoration to an example found in a burial of the mid Warring States period at Dayi Wulong (M3:4), and in a *jian* (M19:21) with a symbol similar to that found in the *guo* grave of Xindu and interpreted as a Shu clan symbol. Characteristic of the Tongxincun assemblages are the pottery *mou* and looped *fu*, flat base *bo* and *guan*, the *pen* and *weng,* and the pottery objects painted with lacquer. Among the bronzes, the steamer, the

ji halberd, the ornaments and the large variety of seals are the most peculiar, while the type of *ge* with triangular blade and no *hu*, or the *yue* with an inverted neck, usually attributed to the late Warring States period were not found. External cultural influences were instead recognised in the flat base *guan*, inscribed *ge* and seals, and belt-hooks similar to the Central Plain production, or in bronze buttons and bottle-shaped ornaments found in cist coffins (Baoxingxian wenhuaguan 1978).

As for the occupants, the graves M21a and M21b might constitute a multiple burial of higher class members, possibly a man and a woman. Grave goods in M21 were particularly rich and include five kinds of different *ge* and *mao*, while M21b contained glass beads, jade bracelets and a seal with the character *duo* (big bell), also associated to a high class member. The child burial M22, containing the same seal, might be associated to the other two. As the other graves were all lined and without superimposition, and mainly contained daily tools and weapons, the authors suggest that it was a cemetery for a settled military division, possibly after the Qin conquest, when the area was probably tightly controlled by a frontier garrison (SWKY-YB 1998: 279).

3.5.6 Tongxincun (85YTM1-M5)

Sichuan Province Cultural Relics Management Office

Between 1984 and 1985 six burials and a Neolithic site were excavated following the accidental discovery of bronze objects and stone tools (SWGW-YB 1988) (fig. 3.6/3). The pit graves, all orientated along the N-S axis with an angle of 5-10 degrees, did not contain traces of coffins or bones, while the pottery was fragmented and the bronze weapons sparsely distributed. Burial M6, seriously damaged and placed above M1, contained *wuzhu* coins and was thus dated to the Han dynasty. The better preserved grave, M5 (240 x 80 cm), had a red filling of mixed soil (*wuhuatu*) and contained mainly pottery grave goods concentrated in the nort part, one bronze *jian*, and a few stone tools.

The excavated pottery objects (tot. 41) are made of a red or grey sandy coarse ware, fired at low temperature, generally thick, including 22 *dou*, eight plate *pan*, and 11 *guan*, with flat or rounded base and corded pattern decoration. The bronzes (tot. 28) include three *mao* (two types), one *ge*, three *jian* (two types), one *yue*, one *jin*, one *fu* axe, one chisel *zao*, two arrows, four bridge-shape ornaments, two chime bells, four

pao, one button *kou*, two *fu* vessels and two *mou*. The stone tools (tot. 9) were all from burial M5, which is also the only burial fully recorded.

Table 3.40 Tongxincun (85YTM1-5)

Tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
85YTM1	rP	2	3		1							6
85YTM2	rP		1	2	1	8						12
85YTM3	rP	1	3		1							5
85YTM4	rP	1										1
85YTM5	rP	15	3									18
		19	10	2	3	8						42

The pottery, found together with stone tools, is considered characteristic of the mid Warring States period (Zhao 1983), while the bronze weapons are associated to the typical assemblages of the mid-late Warring States period. The authors intepret the presence of bronze *pao* (pointed knobs) and *kou* (buttons), characteristic of the cist burials of the late Warring States period, together with the discovery of "Chu" burials in the proximity of the ancient Yandao city at about 1.5 km from Tongxincun, as evidence of the presence of different ethnic groups interacting in the same area (SWGW-YB 1988: 54).

3.5.7 Nanluoba 南 罗 坝 (88YLM1-11)

Yingjing Museum

The Nanluoba site is located south of the Yingjing city, on the second tier of a terrace facing the confluence of the Jing and Yanzhu rivers, at about 800 m S from the Jing river, at 1 km from the Tongxincun site situated on an alluvial terrace of the Ying river north of the town (figs. 2.5/17, 3.6/4). In January 1988 eleven graves were excavated in an area of about 200m2, characterised by a yellowish surface layer (thick. 27-30 cm) of cultivated soil above a gravel layer (YB 1994). The burials were all orientated at about 160 degrees and were quite closely placed, as in the case of M1 and M11 (fig. 3.23/6) which were at a distance of about 50 cm apart or M4 and M6 at around 30 cm apart. The dimensions ranged from 300-400 cm in length and 80-120 cm in width; the filling was a yellowish mixed soil (*wuhuatu*). Except M11, which was deeper in the middle and contained wooden remains, possibly of a wooden coffin, all the others did not have coffins. The skeletons had all decayed and only in the case of graves M1, M3 and M9-M11 was it possible to discern the orientation of the head

which was towards the SE (towards the mountains). Pottery and bronze vessels were placed at both ends, while weapons were along the sides of the deceased or near the waist. All the burials were quite seriously damaged, especially in the top part; the walls of M4-M6 were already destroyed were parts of those of M3 and M4; M1 and M9 were better preserved.

Among the 339 grave goods, 80% is pottery (272), 16% bronze (53) and 4% glass and bone (15). The bronzes include three *ge* (two types), eight *mao* (two types), five *jian* (two types), one *yue*, two *fu* axes, one *jin* axe, four *xiao* knives, one chisel, one carving knife, five *mou* (two types), five *fu*, three *pen* basins, 10 bracelets, two ornaments, one *pao* and one seal. The pottery objects are made with a grey or buff sandy or more clayish ware, fired at low and uneven temperature and with a fragile texture. The decoration mainly includes corded pattern, or applied and punched designs. The objects are hand-made or shaped in moulds, and successively refined on the slow wheel, only rarely mould by hand. The types, which have a high percentage of round base vessels, include 104 *dou*, 73 round base *guan* (three types), 11 flat base *guan* (three types), one double-looped *guan*, 51 *fu* (three types), eight *bo* bowls (three types), two *lei* vessels, 10 *meng* basins, four *pen* basins, one steamer, one three-cups *zhan*, one box, one *mou* and three covers. Other objects are one bone seal, 13 glass beads and one bone weaving wheel.

Table 3.41 Nanluoba (88YLM1-11)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
88YLM1	rP	52	11	6	4		2				75
88YLM2	rP	8	1								9
88YLM3	rP	20				1					21
88YLM4	rP	8			1	2					11
88YLM5	rP	22					1	1			24
88YLM6	rP	19									19
88YLM7	rP	25									25
88YLM8	rP	4				1	4				9
88YLM9	rP	43	1	2	3	5		1			55
88YLM10	eP	37	4	2	1		6				50
88YLM11	ePc	34		3		4					41
TOT		272	17	13	9	13	13	2			339

The pottery of the Nanluoba cemetery, quite well preserved, exemplifies the types usually dated to the mid-late period of the Ba-Shu culture: short-footed *dou*, round base *guan* and *fu* (YB 1994: 393, Zhao 1983) as found in other sites such as Dayi Wulong (SWGW-DW 1985) and Qianwei (SB 1983b). Other traits are more similar to the cist-coffin grave goods, such as the flat base *guan* and the double-handled *guan*. Other objects, as the high-stemmed *dou* or the type I round base *guan* are similar to

some examples of Zhihuijie, dated to the Zhou dynasty and beginning of the Spring and Autumn period (SDB-CB 1987), while the *zhan* with three cups is usually regarded as a product of an earlier date. The weapons are similar to those produced in the mid-late Warring States period, while the buttons *pao* and the ornament are similar to those from cist-burials (Maowen and Baoxing). The bronze seal is identical to that of Lietai, the bone ones to Xindu and Pujiang. There are differences among the burials in terms of grave goods, but it is difficult to separate them chronologically. They have all been dated to the mid Warring States period (YB 1994: 393).

3.5.8 Zengjiagou 曾 家 沟 (83YGM21)

Sichuan Province Commission for Cultural Relics Administration-Cultural Bureau of Yingjing district

The Zengjiagou site is located midway between the Ying and the Jing rivers, at about 2 km west from Yingjing and 1 km from the ancient city of Yandao (fig. 2.5/16, 3.6/2). Eleven pit graves were found in 1981 (YGM11-14), in 1982 (YGM15-16) and in 1983 (83YGM17-21). The *guo* burial M21 (SWGW-YW 1989), orientated along the NS axis (8 degrees NE), was filled with a quite compact yellowish mixed soil, although there were no signs of rammed platform in the pit. The *guo*, in the middle of the pit (374/376 x 236/264 cm; about 154 cm depth), had a layer of white clay (thick. 15-21 cm) on each side and the cover was made by five lined wooden axes (180/221 x 42/74 cm; thick.10/12 cm) covered by 3-4 layers of birch cortex (thick. 1.2 cm). Below the cover there was a structure of three vertical axes and two horizontal ones put together with the mortise and tenon joint. The *guo* (257 x 138 cm; h 103 cm) was made by wooden axes (three for each lateral side and the bottom) fixed with a mortise and tenon joint; below the bottom platform two wooden axes acted as support. The *guo* was further divided into two sections by a dividing pillar placed at a distance of 20 cm from the east side and 119 and 122 cm respectively from the short sides; four wooden axes were placed between the pillar and the short walls as a dividing wall. In the *guoshi* a wooden coffin (220 x 86 cm; h 84 cm), made of six wooden planks, had its surface covered by bamboo joints and the two sides tied with eight cord strings. On the bottom a layer of hemp remains was found, together with sparse silk cloth remains, a wooden *jian*, a bronze seal and a belt-hook.

The grave, completely well preserved, contained pottery vessels, and lacquer, bronze and bamboo objects, mainly concentrated on the NE part of the grave-goods compartment. The two pottery *guan* are made of sandy or clayish grey ware, together with other three vessels (two round bottom *guan* and *fu*, one flat base *guan*). All the lacquer objects are made of wood and include one flask-*hu*, one ovoidal double-looped box, one round box, one *lian* box, four looped *bei* cups, one *jian* and small sticks. Among the bronzes there are one seal and one belt-hook.

Table 3.42 Zengjiagou (83YGM21)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
83YGM21	Gc	5				1		1		15	22

The *guo* structure, the use of white clay, the characteristics of the coffin (cord-tied, with crowbars, etc.) and the grave goods are considered similar to the other group in Zengjiagou (SWGW et al 1984). However, the presence of specific objects, such as the *guan*, the lacquer *hu* and the rounded box *he*, and of painted lacquer, all traits also found in Qingchuan (SB-QW 1982), suggest a slightly later date, around the mid Warring States period. This kind of burial, comparable to the examples in Xindu, Qingchuan and Chengdu, has been attributed to the Chu culture and Chu burials dated from the Spring and Autumn to the Warring States period. The lacquer *jian* is a *mingqi* with a shape similar to Xindu Majia but especially to those found in the areas of Wu and Yue or in Chu sites (SWGW-YW 1989: 29). This type was particularly widespread during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States, thus its name: "Eastern Zhou *jian*" or "Central Plain *jian*". The origin is traced back to a new *jian* shape that emerged in Wu and Yue during the mid Western Zhou period (ibid.) and characterised by the presence of the *ge* and *shou* components, different from the "Ba Shu" examples. As this model is believed to be brought by people of the Kaiming clan coming from the Jing and Chu areas, the Zengjiagou burials are considered Chu burials of the mid Warring States period. Shu factors are recognised in the round base *fu* and *guan*, and in the presence of lacquer objects (ibid.).

3.5.9 Zengjiagou (81YGM11-14/82YGM15-16)

Sichuan Province Commission for Cultural Relics Administration

The six burials, excavated between 1981 and 1982 in Zengjiagou, were all pit graves orientated along an east-west axis (258-270 degrees) and with varying dimensions (280/370 x 164/246 cm; depth 182/248 cm) (SWGW et al. 1984) (fig. 2.5/16). The filling was a yellowish mixed soil (*wuhuatu*) with a rammed layer (10/20 cm), probably made with a ramming tool with a rectangular end (8x5 or 15x7 cm), on the bottom. The *guo* were covered by a layer of white clay and in some cases the pit had a protruding platform of rammed soil. The head was probably orientated towards the west. The burials were divided into 4 types according to the structure. Burial M16, the most complex in structure, had a rammed platform on its north, west and south sides and a compartment made of wooden axes on its west side, connected with the *guo* by a small aperture on its east side (fig. 3.22/1). The *guo*, shaped like a II, had a bottom made of three planks and was covered by a a *jing*-shaped frame of the same dimensions of the *guo* and formed by four axes joined with the mortar and tenon method. The cover was made of nine axes covered by two layer of birch cortex (one horizontal, one vertical). A layer of white clay (thick. 10-15 cm) was applied on the cover, on the four sides and on the bottom. The coffin, placed towards the south side of the *guo*, was made of six wooden axes combined with two kinds of mortice and tenon joints, and tied with thick bamboo ropes at the two ends; the ropes were screwed tight with four lozenge-shaped wooden sticks. On the cover there was a wooden stick. On the bottom of the coffin there were sparse wooden ashes, on the top a 8 cm thick layer of shelled cereals, and finally a 2 cm layer of grass. The head was probably orientated towards west.

Graves M12, M13, M15 contained one *guo* and one coffin. M12 did not have a rammed platform, but the *guo* was covered by a layer of white clay on each side. The coffin, which contained on its west side a hairpin and a pottery fragment, was placed in the west section of the *guo* and the grave goods in the east part. A wooden stick was found on the south side. The four sides of the pit in M13 had a platform of rammed earth; the coffin was placed in the eastern part and the grave goods in the west, where a tooth was also found. The *guo* in M15 was quite short and the coffin was placed in the north side. Inside the coffin there was a berth of interwoven grass and cereals; in the west side of the pit there was a platform containing the grave goods.

Grave M11 had a coffin but no *guo*. The south, north and west sides had a platform: the west acting as a niche for the grave goods (fig. 3.22/2). Below the coffin there were two longitudinal wooden axes and inside a stick, cereals and fruit seeds. Only one grave (M14) had a *guo* and no coffin; the pit had a rammed platform and the grave goods were placed in the west part of the *guo*.

The grave goods (more than 50 but not all were recorded) were generally placed in the head compartment, on the rammed platforms or between the *guo* and the coffin. The lacquer goods include two *lian* boxes, one with an inscribed character (possibly Chengdu), similar to inscriptions like *Cheng ting* or *Cheng shi* (made in Chengdu) and variously dated to the Western Han dynasty, as in the Hubei region, or mid/late Warring States period to Qin, as in the case of Yingjing and Qingchuan (SB-QW 1982). In this last case the style is closer to the earlier *jinwen* style more than the *lishu*. Other objects are 11 eared bowls *erbei* (two types), one *he* box, one elongated eared *erbei*, one stick *bang* 棒, two sticks *zhang* 杖, similar to Mawangdui for the shape and to burials in Wuwei (Gansu) for the disposal on the cover of the coffin (SWGW et al. 1984: 1084, 1091), one wooden piece and six short sticks to tighten the bamboo ropes. Among the preserved bamboo goods there are one mat and one round box. The pottery includes nine flat base *guan* (four types), one round base *guan*, five *fu* (three types) and one knife. Other objects are two hairpins. Only the burials 81YGM11-12 and 82YGM16 are fully recorded.

Table 3.43 Zengjiagou (81YGM11-16)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
81YGM11*	rPc	2								2	4
81YGM12*	Gc	2					1			11	14
81YGM13	Gc	3							1		4
81YGM14	Gc										
82YGM15	Gc	1									1
82YGM16*	Gc	4						1		11	16
TOT		12					1	1	1	24	39

* refers to burials with a complete record of their content

The use of white clay and the II-shaped *guo* with an inner coffin are usually considered common features of Chu burials in Hunan and Hubei; the elongated shape of the pit (1.5:1 or 2:1) and the use of a rammed platform is another characteristic of the Chu graves between Spring and Autumn and Warring States period (SWGW et al. 1984: 1084). The use of a sort of "head-niche" on the platform is similar to the use of a niche in the Chu burials of the Spring and Autumn period. For example, the M16 seems to represent a transitional phase from the "head niche" of the Spring and Autumn period

to the *guo* inner head-encasement of the Warring States period (ibid.). The pottery did not contain the vessels assemblages usually related to the Chu burials, such as *li*, *bo* bowls or *hu*, or Warring States ritual vessels, such as *ding*, *dui*, *hu*, but vessel shapes, such as *guan* and *fu*, usually attributed to a local "Ba-Shu" production. The lacquer objects were quite roughly made, with no paintings, and with inscriptions in Shang-Zhou *jinwen* style, which is interpreted as evidence of an earlier date than Qingchuan (ibid.). The burials were thus all dated between the end of the Spring and Autumn and the beginning of the Warring States period (ibid.).

3.5.10 Lietai 烈 太 (81YJM1)

Yingjingxian Wenhuaguan

The remains of a pit-grave were found in Lietai, on the north bank of the Ying river, at 1.5 km west of the ancient city of Yandao (Li-Li 1984) (figs. 2.5/14, 3.6/1). The original dimensions were probably 2.4 m x 1.5 m; no coffins and skeletons were found inside. The grave goods mainly include bronze objects and seals: 1 circular pendant, 19 ornaments *pao*, 2 decorative bells, 8 seals, 8 knives *xiao*, 2 bow's elements, 1 button and 1 bracelet. A few fragments of pottery show that the vessels, probably *fu* and *guan* with round bases, were made with a sandy coarse ware, red and black.

Table 3.44 Zengjiagou (81YGM1)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
81YGM1	rPc	frag.	2		8	24		8			42

The seals have been compared with those found in Baxian Dongsunba and Guangyuan Zhaohua, the *pao* ornaments with those of the slate tomb in Maoxian, and the square seals and cord pattern pottery with the tombs in Zengjiagou. A general dating around the Warring States period has thus been suggested (ibid.: 605).

3.6 SOUTH-EAST SICHUAN

3.6.1 Baxian Dongsunba 巴 县 冬 笋 坝 (54BDM1-66)

Sichuan Museum

The site of Dongsunba is located at 60 km W from Chongqing, on the N bank of the Yangzi river (fig. 2.5/19). Between 1954 and 1957 66 burials were found in two different locations on a terrace facing the river, together with remains of uncomplete graves (M15, M17, M19, M21, M22, M23, M24, M25, M27, M28, M40, M79, M81), all orientated along the E/W axis (SB 1960) (fig. 3.2). The burials are divided into 21 boat coffins, 14 elongated pits, 13 rectangular/square pits and two brick graves (M13 and M62). The best preserved boat-coffins are M9, M12, M41, M42 and M50 (SB 1960, pp. 12-14, figg. 3, 4, 7, 6 ,5) (figs. 3.24/1-3); the average length of the pits is 5 m (max. 6.64 m M9 and min. 4.25 M7), the average width is 1.10 m (max. 1.60 M42 and min. 0.95 M11). Some pits also had a rammed platform inside, like M5 and M8 on their S side and M9 on its N and S sides; the pit was usually re-filled with the excavated soil, except M50 which had a layer of white clay on the coffin. The grave goods and the deceased were usually placed in the internal compartment of the trunk, and no cases of a small wooden coffin placed in the cavity, as in Zhaohua Baolunyuan, have been found. The deceased was placed with elongated arms and surrounded by grave goods: the *jian* sword at one of the two sides of the deceased, the *xiao* and belt-hook at the waist, the *mao* on the left side, and in many cases (12 on 21 burials) a bronze basin near the head; other personal ornaments are all placed near the body. Pottery and bronze vessels were instead placed at the feet of the deceased (SB 1960: 19-20). The elongated pits (fig. 3.24/4-5) have generally the same dimensions as the pits used for the boat coffins, although slightly smaller, and only in two cases were there traces of white clay (M32, M85) or rammed platform (M1). No coffins were preserved inside. The rectangular and square pits were instead simple pits, mostly probably without inner coffins (fig. 3.24/6).

In the 66 tombs a total number of 1012 grave goods were found, including 620 pottery vessels, although in a very poor and fragmented state, 119 bronze weapons, 96 bronze vessels, 38 bronze objects, 22 bronze ornaments, 19 ornaments made of glass, stone or bone, 22 seals, 55 iron objects and vessels, and 22 lacquer objects.

Table 3.45 Baxian Dongsunba (54BD)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
54BDM1	eP	6	2	4	1		1	1				15
54BDM2	eP	6	1	3	1		1	1		11		24
54BDM3	eP	8	3	2	1							14
54BDM4	eP	8	7	3	1	2						21
54BDM5	BC	5	1	4	1		1					12
54BDM6	eP	1	4	4								9
54BDM7	rP	12	2									14
54BDM8	eP	5	1	1	1			1				9
54BDM9	BC	9	7	5	3					1		25
54BDM10	eP	3	1	2			1					7
54BDM11	eP	5	6	5	2							18
54BDM12	BC	19		2								20
54BDM14	eP	6		1					1			9
54BDM16	eP	4	1	1								6
54BDM18	eP	10	1	5								16
54BDM20	sP	15		1			2				WZ	18
54BDM26	sP	12									BL	12
^54BDM29	sP			1					2			3
54BDM30	sP	30										29
54BDM31	eP	4	2				1		2		BL	9
54BDM32	eP	4	1	1				2				8
54BDM33	eP	7	4	3	1	2				1		18
54BDM34	rP	1	2	1								4
54BDM35	eP	7	5	6	2	1	3		3			27
54BDM36	rP	14	2	1					1			18
54BDM37	rP	14	2	1	1	1		1	1		BL	21
54BDM39	rP	15	4	1	1		1			1		23
54BDM41	BCc	12		3	1	1		1		1		19
54BDM42	BC	11	2	3	1	2			1		BL	20
54BDM43	eP	8	1	2					1			12
54BDM46	rP	24	1						1			26
54BDM47	sP	19							2	1		22
54BDM48	rP	4	1						1			6
54BDM49	BC	10	5	4	1	2	4	4	1		R	31
54BDM50	BC	14	8	5	2	4	1	6	3	1	BL	44
54BDM51	BC	5	3	3	2	1			2	1		17
54BDM52	rP	14	3	2	1		1		4	1	C	26
54BDM53	rP	7	2	1	1			1				12
54BDM54	rP	10	1						2			13
54BDM55	rP	8	2						2			12
54BDM56	rP	6	5	1	1							13
54BDM57	rP	11	1	1	1							14
54BDM58	rP	13	3	1		1			1			19
54BDM59	rP	7	1	1	1						BL	10
54BDM60	rP	13	2		1			1	1	1		19
54BDM61	rP	7						1				8
54BDM63	sP	23										23
54BDM64	sP	11	1	1				1	1		BL	15
54BDM65	rP	10	3	1						1	BL	15
54BDM66	sP	4				1			2			7
54BDM67	sP	5			2						BL	7
54BDM68	eP	5	1	1	1							8
54BDM69	rP	8							4			12
54BDM70	sP	7									BL	7
54BDM71	sP	10										10
54BDM72	sP	8			1				1			10
54BDM73	rP	5	2			1			1			9
54BDM74	rP	8							2			9
54BDM75	rP	4							1			5
54BDM76	rP	11	2						2			15
54BDM77	sP	17	1	1							BL	19
54BDM78	sP	12	2	1	2	1					BL	18
54BDM80	sP	7							3			10
54BDM83	sP	9		1		1	1	1	3		DQ	16
54BDM84	ePc	7	3	3	1				1			15
54BDM85	rPc	17	4	2	2	1	1		2	1		30
TOT		622	119	96	38	22	19	22	55	22		1014

The summary table in the report divides the pottery into general categories (round and flat base jars *guan*, vessels *dou*, steamers *zeng*. etc.) indicating the number found in each burial (SB 1960: 138-40): jars *fu* and *guan* are merged in the same column for boat coffins, elongated and rectangular pits and kept separated in the summary tables for square pits. The bronze weapons are further classified into subgroups; the *jian*, the *yue* and the *ge* respectively into 3 types, and the *mao* in four. The seals are divided according to the characters incised on the surface: *fuhao* or "Ba-Shu" symbols and Han ideograms.

All the boat coffins show a clear and nearly standardised grave assemblage, composed of a set of bronze *pan*, *fu*, *mou*, and *zeng*, one or more seals, a few weapons or a pottery weaving wheel, a knife *xiao* and a certain number of *fu* or *dou* vessels. The most widely used weapons are the *yue* and the *jian*, less the spear-head *mao* and the dagger axe *ge*; the knife *xiao* and the belt-hooks were used throughout the period, while the seals are considered late acquisitions (SB 1960: 20). The pottery assemblage is composed of *dou* and round base vessels, flat base vessels in a later phase and a restricted number of *hu*. In the elongated pits, which possibly contained coffins, the *mao* and *jian* were more used, together with belt-hooks and seals, while the pottery mainly includes flat based vessels. The use of iron objects and the quantity of more varied and technologically advanced pottery tends to increase in the rectangular and square pits, together with a decrease in bronze weapons, especially in those burials dated to the beginning of the Western Han period on the basis of *wuzhu* coins. The site of Baxian Dongsunba offers an extremely interesting chronological sequence, although the lack of full documentation for the grave goods seriously limits the analysis of the material.

3.6.2 Yunyang Lijiaba 云 羊 李 家 坝 (97LJM1-54)

Sichuan University – Yunyang Wenwu Guanlisuo

The site of Lijiaba is located on the north bank of the Pengxi river (or Xiaojiang) at 31°6'15" lat. north and 108°41' long. east covering an extension of 1300 m from east to west and 500 m north to south (fig. 2.5/23). The area is divided by two small streams into three main parts (upper, mid and lower mound); the cultural remains were mainly found on the upper section for a total extension of 60 km2, which was further divided into four parts (I-IV) and excavated into 23 squares of 5m x 5m (SDLX-Yunyang xian

wenwu guanlisuo 2002: 245, fig. 1). Burial remains dated to the Eastern Zhou period were found in the section II for an overall excavated area of about 575m2; the western part was quite well preserved, while the east part, especially along the south side facing the river, was seriously damaged by agricultural activities. In the W section the layer 4 contains remains of pottery and post holes dated between the V and I cent. BC; the same level in the eastern part has been damaged by the above layer n. 3 (ibid.: 244-46).

The burial ground is located in the area facing the river and it was probably much larger, as the ancient river bank extended originally 20 m further south. It contained 40 burials, all orientated along a N-S axis, except M36 and M45, and generally with the heads orientated towards the north (ibid. fig 5). The burials were rectangular pits with dimensions between 2-4 m in length and 0.5-2.5 m in width. Five pits had protruding sides: M23 and M26 on the head end, M19 on one side, M13 on the two ends side, M53 on all the three remaining sides. Twenty-three graves contained wooden coffins or caskets (*guo*); among them three (M33, M36, M45) had one coffin and one external casket, two (M34, M23) contained a single coffin and 19 had a single casket. The *guo* have three different shapes, but the one with the two end sides protruding (II) is the most common. In a few cases (M33, M36, M45, M24) the casket was covered with white clay. The skeleton was placed in the grave with the lower limbs stretched, while the upper limbs were either crossed on the chest or with one hand at the waist and one along the body with the other on the chest (ibid.: 249). The grave goods mainly include pottery and bronze vessels with an average of 3-8 objects, a few graves with one or two and a larger number with about seventeen. The author's of the report generally associate the burials containing weapons with males and those without with females (ibid.). The grave goods were placed within the coffin in different positions: *jian* and arrows in a cover at the waist, *mao*, *jin* and *ge* at both sides of the head, *yue* at the waist or near the head, and the remaining objects at the feet. Only in two cases (M23, M34) were the weapons placed within the coffin and the other grave goods outside of it. In some burials remains of human sacrifices were found: one body in M34, M40, M54 and M50, two in M19, M31 and M43, and three in M40; they were usually placed at the feet of the deceased.

The 107 pottery vessels (97 restored), include *guan*, *weng*, *lei*, *fu*, *mou*, *meng*, *dou*, *hu*, *fou*, *ding*, *dui*, *li*, *zeng* and spoons. The ware is clayish and sandy; sandy ware has small and medium size inclusions, while the clayish ware can be fine or coarser, sometimes with fine inclusions of river sand. The colour can be grey, buff, black and

reddish; in some cases a black coat is added and sometimes the surface was also polished. The vessels were made by hand or on the wheel, while legs and handles added by hand. The decoration includes cord and square pattern, impressed on the surface, and convex and concave lines or tiles pattern made on the wheel. The most common motif is the cord pattern, followed by concave lines; minor are square and tiles pattern and concave lines. The cord pattern can be vertical, horizontal and in sections, but it never has a standard pattern. The concave lines are more often found in *guan*, *peng*, *hu*. The "hidden" line is found on the surface of *guan*, *hu* and *dou*, forming diamond patterns, horizontal, oblique or straight lines. The square pattern is especially found on the C type of *fu*. Concave lines are on those vessels like *ding* and *hu* that imitate bronze objects (ibid.: 261-70).

Table 3.46 Yunyang Lijiaba (97LJ)

tomb	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
97LJM13	3									3
97LJM14	2									2
97LJM15		2								2
97LJM16	3									3
97LJM17	4		2							6
97LJM18	2									2
97LJM19	5									5
97LJM20										
97LJM21	1									1
97LJM22						2				2
97LJM23	3	10			1	1				15
97LJM24	4	3								7
97LJM25	3		2							5
97LJM26	3		1	1						5
97LJM27	3	1						1		5
97LJM28	3	3	1	1						8
97LJM29										
97LJM30	2									2
97LJM31										
97LJM32	4	3								7
97LJM33	6		1	1						8
97LJM34	5	3		1						9
97LJM35	2									2
97LJM36										
97LJM38	9									9
97LJM39										
97LJM40	1	1								2
97LJM41	7	2								9
97LJM42	2									2
97LJM43	8	4	1	1						14
97LJM45	1	3		2						6
97LJM46	2									2
97LJM48	5									5
97LJM49										
97LJM50	4									4
97LJM51	2	2	1							5
97LJM52				1	1	1				3
97LJM53	3	3	1	1				1		9
97LJM54	5	3		1						9
97LJM55										
TOT	107	43	10	10	2	4		2		178

The bronze objects include 65 items (59 preserved), mainly produced with moulds and, especially in the case of weapons, with double moulds. They include 43 bronze weapons, 10 daily objects, 10 vessels, one belt-hook and one small bell; zoomorphic decorative motifs are incised on *jian*, *mao* and *ge*, while geometric motifs are executed in high relief on *yue* and *fu* (ibid.: 271-81). A small proportion of grave goods is composed of jade (1), iron (2) and glass (3) objects, while no seals and lacquer objects were found. Graves M20, M29, M31, M39, M49 and M55 were empty.

On the basis of their stratigraphic relations the burials are attributed to three phases and four periods, and the chronology has been defined according to a typological analysis of the grave goods and their comparisons with other sites (ibid.: 283-85). Characteristic of period I are considered the *fu* with outward flaring rim (A type, ibid.: 267, fig. 18.1), which was found in the area since late Neolithic layers up to the Shang-Zhou period, the *guan* type with an elongated and narrow neck (type AI) (ibid.: 266, 17.1), the *zeng* type A (ibid.: 271, fig. 21.4), the *dou* with cover (type DII) (ibid.: 268, fig. 19.3) and the *mao* AI (ibid.: 275, fig. 25.7) , which suggested a date around the first phase of the Warring States period (V cent. BC), although the burial M48 probably belongs to an earlier period (ibid.: 284).

The burials of the second period contained the *meng* type BI and C (ibid.: 268: 19.10 and 15), the *dou* type B (ibid.: 268: 19.2), the *guan* AIII (ibid.: 266, fig. 17.9) and the *hu* type A (ibid.: 270, fig. 20, 1-3 and 4); as for the bronze objects, the first phase of the second period is characterised by the *yue* type AIII (ibid.: 279, fig. 28.2) and the *mao* type AII (ibid.: 275, fig. 25.3), which are compared to those unhearthed in Xindu Majia, and the *yue* types AI-II and III (ibid.: 279, fig. 28.1-3). The second phase of the second period includes pottery *ding* and *dui*, the globular *fu* types CII and CIII (ibid.: 267, fig. 18.10-11) and the *yue* type AIII. The two phases of the second period are respectively dated to the first and second phase of the mid Warring States period (IV cent. BC).

The burials of the third period are instead identified with those containing the type AIII of the bronze axe *fu* (ibid.: 279, fig. 28.10) but without the *ge* and the engraved seals of the late Ba Shu period/beginning of Qin. The date has thus been fixed to the first phase of the late Warring States period (first half of the III cent. BC).

3.6.3 Zhongxian 忠 县

Beijing University – Archaeology Department

The site of Zhongxian is located on the Yangzi river in Chongqing municipality (fig. 2.5/22). A total of 57 burials, mainly pits with coffins or *guo* encasements, were excavated between 1997 and 1999 in four different areas (A, B, C. D) at around 3 km from the district city. Some of the graves were not included in my analysis for their late date (99ZGYBM10, 99ZGYCM14, 98ZGYDM7), while burials 98ZGYBM11, M14-M16, M21 in sector B and 99ZGYCM13 in sector C were found empty. Those burials with plans available (with an asterix in the table) were recorded with a reference to their type; the type field in the database was left blank for the others, while in the table below the pit shape was used. Only for burial 98ZGYBM19 was it possible to recognise the sex of the deceased, a woman of 40 years old.

Table 3.47 Zhongxian (97/98/99ZGYB/C/D)

Tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	I	L	C	TOT
97ZGYBM1	rP	1					1				2
97ZGYBM2	rP	4									4
97ZGYBM3	G	14									14
97ZGYBM4	rP	8				1	5				14
97ZGYBM5	rP	4									4
98ZGYBM8	sP	36									36
98ZGYBM9 *	Gc	3									3
98ZGYBM11	rP										0
98ZGYBM14	rP										0
98ZGYBM15	rP										0
98ZGYBM16	rP										0
98ZGYBM17	rP	6									6
98ZGYBM18	rP	4									4
98ZGYBM19 *	rP	3									3
98ZGYBM20	rP	2									2
98ZGYBM21	rP										0
98ZGYBM22	sP	72									72
98ZGYBM23 *	G	3	1								4
98ZGYBM24 *	Gc 2	28		1	1			1		WZ	31
		188	1	1	1	1	6	1			199

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	I	L	C	TOT
99ZGYCM2 *	Gc	4									4
99ZGYCM3 *	Gc	5				6					11
99ZGYCM4 *	rPc	2									2
99ZGYCM5 *	rPc	3				1		1			5
99ZGYCM6 *	Gc	2	1								3
99ZGYCM7 *	Gc	18						2		WZ	20
99ZGYCM8 *	Gc	5									5
99ZGYCM9 *	Gc	4									4
99ZGYCM10 *	Gc	2									2
99ZGYCM11 *	rPc	3									3
99ZGYCM12 *	Gc	20						1		WM	21
99ZGYCM13 *	rPc										0
99ZGYCM14 *	Gc	30						3			33
99ZGYCM15 *	rPc					1					1
99ZGYCM16		43		3		2				WM	48
99ZGYCM17 *	G	1									1
		142	1	3		10		7			163

Table 3.47 Zhongxian (97/98/99ZGYB/C/D) (continuing from previous page)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	I	L	C	TOT
98ZGYDM3		2									2
98ZGYDM4		1									1
98ZGYDM5		3									3
98ZGYDM6		3									3
98ZGYDM7		2									2
98ZGYDM8 *	Gc	2									2
98ZGYDM9		3									3
98ZGYDM10		2									2
98ZGYDM11 *	Gc	1	2		2						5
99ZGYDM12 *	Gc	6					1				7
99ZGYDM13 *	Gc	6	1								7
99ZGYDM14 *	Gc					10					10
99ZGYDM15 *	Gc	1									1
99ZGYDM16 *	Gc										0
99ZGYDM17 *	rPc										0
99ZGYDM18 *	rPc										0
		32	3		3	10	1				49

* refers to the burials for which plans and full records were provided

In the 38 examples analysed there were 411 grave goods, including 362 pottery vessels, 5 bronze weapons, 4 bronze vessels, 4 bronze objects, 21 bronze ornaments and eight iron objects and vessels. Fragments of lacquer, possibly used to cover the coffin, were found in burial 99ZGYDM15, while no seals were discovered.

The discovery of Wang Mang and *wuzhu* coins has made it possible to securely date some of the burials: 98ZGYBM24, 99ZGYCM7, M12 and M16. Some stratigraphic relationships were also detected in sector B (98ZGYBM8 and M10 on M9 and M11), in sector C (99ZGYCM2 on M3; M12 on M11; M14 on M15; and the sequence M16-M7-M17) and in sector D (98ZGYDM6 on M9). On the basis of their graves goods the other burials have been dated from the late Warring States period to the Western Han dynasty.

Pottery vessels dominate the grave goods; usually a large number (around 30-40 objects) were found in all the burials dated to the Western Han period; smaller assemblages of 4-5 objects have been found in the other burials, and only occasionally are pottery vessels associated with bronze objects and ornaments. Some pottery vessels found in burials 97ZGYBM3, 99ZGYBM23, 99ZGYCM10-11, 98ZGYDM3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16 are similar to the Chu tradition of the nearby Hubei region, while those of 99ZGYCM4 to the Ba culture.

3.6.4 Fuling Xiaotianxi 涪 陵 小 田 溪 (72FXM1-3)

Sichuan Museum – Chongqing Museum – Fuling Wenhuaguan

The three burials discovered in Xiaotianxi in 1982 (figs. 2.5/21, 3.5) were particularly rich in bronze objects and vessels (SB 1974). Burial n.1, seriously damaged, was originally a 6 m x 4.2 m pit; it contained a large amount of bronze vessels (14), weapons (24) and objects (17), together with a whole set of ritual bells (21) and ornaments (14), and only lacquer and pottery fragments (fig. 3.25/3). Grave no. 2, also previously damaged, was a pit measuring 1.80 (left length) x 1.75, and originally contained a lacquered coffin. The grave goods include four preserved pottery vessels, seven bronze vessels, two spoons, four weapons, three bells, two bronze handles, probably belonging to a coffin, three glass cylinders, one jade bracelet and one lacquer box. Burial n. 3 was a rectangular pit grave (4.40 x 2.10 m), originally containing a wooden encasement *guo* and a coffin. It contained three preserved pottery vessels, seven bronze vessels, one spoon, one lacquer box, 29 weapons and bow's components, one *jin* axe, five handles and two cylinders, one jade bracelet and one bronze ornament. No iron objects were found. The graves are all particularly rich, especially in the large amount of musical instruments and various decorative elements, such as coffin's handles and bow's ornaments.

Table 3.48 Fuling Xiaotianxi (72FXM1-3)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	bMu	glD	L	TOT
72FXM1	rP	frag.	24	14	17	14	21		frag.	90
72FXM2	rpc	4	4	6	6	1	3	4	1	29
72FXM3	rPc	3	29	7	9	1		1	1	51
TOT		7	57	27	32	16	24	5	2	170

The three burials have all been dated to a generic Warring States period and attributed to members of the ruling class, identified with the Ba group ruling over Eastern Sichuan. The presence of bells in graves M2 and M3, together with the silver engraved *hu*, have been considered features of the elite character of the tombs (ibid.: 69).

3.6.5 Fuling Yijiaba 涪 陵 易 家 坝 (78FYM1-4)

Chongqing bowuguan – Fuling Wenhuaguan

In 1978 four graves were found in Yijiaba, in the Chengguang village near Fuling (CQB-FW 1990) (fig. 2.5/21, 3.5). They are rectangular pits with protruding platforms (*ercengtai*) and *guo* encasements protected by a layer of white clay; the grave goods were not all preserved. Grave M1 is a *guo* with a coffin; the grave goods include one bronze shaft, 2 iron objects, ornaments, fragments of 2 pottery vessels and *banliang* coins. Grave 2 is a *guo* with a lacquered coffin, probably robbed, containing pottery, bronze and iron objects, pottery ornaments and *banliang* coins. Grave 3 is a *guo* with coffins, containing remains of a male and a female, together with a bronze lamp, *bazhu banliang* coins and one lead comb. Burial n. 4 contains a platform encircled by stone probably used as the coffin support; the grave goods include one pottery jar, one bronze ring, one stove and *banliang* coins.

Table 3.49 Fuling Yijiaba (78FYM1-4)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	I	L	C	TOT
78FYM1	Gc	2	1			3		4		BL	10
78FYM2 *	Gc	17		5			4	2		BL	24
78FYM3 *	G				1			1		BL	2
78FYM4 *	G	1		1		1				BL	3
TOT		20	1	6	1	4	4	7			39

The graves were dated to the Western Han period, not later than the Han Wudi reign, since there are no *wuzhu* coins.

3.6.6 Fuling Xiaotianxi (80FXM4-7)

Four pit-burials were discovered in 1980 at Xiaotianxi in Fuling district (SWGW 1985) (fig. 2.5/21). Grave M7 was an elongated pit with curved angles (320x76 cm); no traces of a skeleton were found and the nine grave goods were placed in the middle of the pit. Burial M4 was a rectangular pit with traces of a lacquered coffin and 14 grave goods. Grave M6 was a nearly squared pit (1.3x1.5) with one pottery *fu* and one bronze basin together with a few traces of lacquer. Burial M5 was a rectangular pit (3.06x1.82) with protruding walls (*erceng tai*) and a *guo* encasement containing a lacquer coffin; the grave goods include 21 pottery and bronze vessels. The head of the deceased was probably oriented towards the east.

Table 3.50 Fuling Xiaotianxi (80FXM4-7)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
80FXM4	rPc	1	1	6	1	1	3	1		frag.	14
80FXM5	Gc	8	1	5	1	1	3	1	1	frag.	21
80FXM6	rP	1		1							1
80FXM7	eP	7			1		1				9
TOT		17	2	12	3	2	7	2	1		45

The four burials have been dated to the Warring States period; the bronze *hu* has been compared with the one found on Yunmeng (Hubei), the mirror with those in Dongsunba and Qingchuan, and the dragon-shaped ornaments with the Central Plain production of the Eastern Zhou period (ibid.: 17-18).

3.6.7 Fuling Xiaotianxi (82FHM1-2)

Sichuan Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui – Fuling Wenhuaguan

In 1982 two rectangular graves, with an orientation along the SW/NE axis, were found at a distance of around 15 m. (SWGW-FW 1984) (fig. 2.5/21). The first burial (3.96 x 2.46 m) mainly contains pottery vessels placed along the south and east wall of the pit, while jade and bronze objects are close to the right side of the deceased and a bronze basin is near the head (fig. 3.25/2). The second burial (4.66 x 2.20 m) has a protruding platform (*ercengtai*) on the south side and a coffin platform on the opposite one; the grave goods, mainly composed by utilitarian objects and weapons, are all placed at one end of the pit. They include pottery vessels (tot. 26), mainly large jars with flat bases, bronze vessels (tot. 12), objects (tot. 4), weapons (tot. 5), ornaments (tot. 5) and iron objects (tot. 6).

Table 3.51 Fuling Xiaotianxi (82FHM1-2)

tomb	type	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT
82FHM1 *	rP	15		4	1	2	1		1		24
82FHM2 *	rP	11	5	8	3	1			5		33
TOT		26	5	12	4	3	1		6		57

The bronze *pen* close to the head of the deceased is placed in the same position as those in the Baxian Dongsunba graves. Grave M2 contains *banliang* coins of the Qin period and the early Western Han dynasty, together with *Jia* coins, while burial M2 has mainly *Jia* coins. According to the historical sources the *Jia* coins were produced during the end of the Qin dynasty and forbidden in the third year of Han Xuandi (192 BC) (ibid.: 342). The *banliang* coins unearthed in burial M2 have long characters in "small

seal" style; after the fifth year of Wendi (175 BC) the characters on the *sizhu banliang* appear more squared and influenced by the *lishu* style which does not appear in these graves. They were thus dated to a period preceding the year 175 BC (ibid.: 342).

3.6.8 Fuling Xiaotianxi (93FXM9)

Sichuan Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo – Fuling Museum

All the Xiaotianxi burials are located along the banks of the Niaojiang near the Chenjiazui village south of Xiaotianxi (SWKY et al. 1998: 186, fig. 2) (fig. 2.5/21). Burial no. 9 is a rectangular pit (3.86 x 1.66 m) orientated along the NW/SE axis and containing a lacquered coffin (2.5 x 0.58 m); the arms of the deceased were along his/her body and the head turn towards the river (fig. 3.25/1). The grave goods (tot. 51) include: 23 weapons, placed near the head and body of the deceased, four pottery vessels and 13 bronze objects mainly distributed at his feet, and the ornaments at his waist. Seven coffin handles were also found.

Table 3.52 Fuling Xiaotianxi (93FXM9)

tomb		P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	C	TOT
93FXM9	rPc	4	23	5	8	7	4					51

The burial has been dated to the late Warring States period on the basis of the *ge* with five sides which was also found in a grave of Baxian Dongsunba (54BDM9) attributed to the period of the Qin invasion; the deceased was probably of high rank and belonging to a Ba context (ibid.: 195).

In the chapters 5 and 6 the data will be analysed and the results discussed with reference to specific research questions, which try to re-assess the materials within the theoretical perspective presented in chapter 1.

CHAPTER 4

DATABASE AND TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

4.1 RECORDING SYSTEM

The excavations of the sites presented in chapter 3 have been conducted by major archaeological units based in Chengdu, such as Sichuan University, Sichuan Province Museum, Sichuan Province Research Institute and Chengdu Archaeological Unit, and by local teams, usually on sites discovered during building or agricultural activities. Many of the archaeological sites were already strongly disturbed by human or natural agents at the moment of recovery. The moist soil of Sichuan is one of the main factors affecting the fast process of deterioration of wood and bones especially in pit graves. In other cases building or agricultural activities, but especially looting, damaged their structure and content.

The individual burials have usually been excavated as single units with a coding system (M1, M2, M3 etc) limited to the site. The increase in the number of excavations and the need to store field data in a consistent way has resulted, in the early '90s, in the adoption of a regional system of recording, with codes formed by the year of excavation, a code for the site and the number of the grave. A list of grave goods is contained at the end of the report, and divided into material and functional categories (jars, bowls, weapons, etc.), which can have minor variations in the choice of the terminology (i.e. *guan* or *weng* for jar). These broad functional categories are further divided into groups (*shi*) and classes (*xing*) according to the morphological and stylistic features of the grave goods, which are eventually used to make comparisons with the grave goods of other sites; the classification systems are however limited to the individual sites. The dating for the pre-imperial period is usually based on typological and stylistic comparisons and generally refers to the early, middle, late phase of the Warring States period (V-III cent BC) or, in most recent excavations (after 1995), to a more detailed sequence of phases and periods. The following imperial period, usually dated on the basis of numismatic evidence, is divided into Qin period (end of IV-III cent. BC) and Western Han dynasty (III-I cent. BC).

4.2 DATABASE DESIGN

The data collected for this study were first recorded on paper and then inputed into a database specifically designed in Access in order to create a comprehensive catalogue of reference and a basis for the related analysis. The grave goods were divided into nine different tables according to their material and function as follows: *pottery vessels*, *bronze weapons*, *bronze vessels*, *bronze objects*, *bronze ornaments*, *iron objects*, *lacquer objects*, *jade/glass/bone objects* and *seals* and were linked to the table *burials*; the table *bronze weapons decoration* was further linked to the *bronze weapons* table.

In the table *burials* the individual graves were given a distinct ID code composed by the year of excavation, the site code and the grave number; only in a few cases the codes correspond to the original ones used in the archaeological report, as it was preferred to create a consistent system of reference for all the sites. The fields included in this table are listed in the table below (table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Fields of the table Burials

Field name	Explanation	Examples
BURIAL ID		
burial ID	individual grave code – unique identifier	86YTM9
site code	site code (year of excavation + site name)	86YT
unit	archaeological unit (if given)	n.r.
orientation	grave orientation	5
date	date attributed by the report	late Warring States
period	date code	III
DIMENSIONS and MORPHOLOGY		
burial type	burial type	BC (boat coffin)
coffin no.	number of coffins	1
coffin type	coffin type	
prop	proportion between length and width	4
length/width/depth	dimensions given in mm	
rammed platform	presence/absence of a rammed platform	no
pit filling ID	kind of soil filling the pit	1 (white clay)
pit ext. filling	kind of soil covering the coffin	4 (small pebbles)
coffin/platform length/wid./depth	dimensions of coffin or bottom platform in mm	
axes no.	number of the platform axes	
support axes no.	number of the axes supporting the platform	
conservation ID	state of conservation	
SKELETON		
skeleton no.	number of skeletons	1
sex	sex	n.r. (not recorded)
skull orientation		N (north)
REFERENCE		
reference ID		
notes	notes and comments	

The table *burials* is linked to all the other tables with a one-to-many relationship. In the table *site* further information on the location of the site are given, like the village, district and county names and the total number of its excavated burials. The table *reference* comprises all the bibliographic references concerning an individual grave or a site. The grave goods are divided according to their material and function in seven distinct tables.The table *pottery vessels* includes the fields listed in the table below (table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Fields of the table Pottery

Field name	Explanation	Examples
VESSEL ID		
burial ID	grave code	86YTM9
pottery vessel ID 1	pottery vessel inventory number	12
pottery vessel ID 2	pottery vessel code	86YTM9:12
type	vessel type	Gf (*guan* with flat base)
group	group as given in the archaeological record	aII
classification 1	classification code (archaeological report)	Gf.aII
classification 2	descriptive code	Gf6.C1.aIII
classification 3	analytical code	Gf.BIb
DIMENSIONS and MORPHOLOGY		
ap/diam/ b/h/nk/cup/ft/ cover h/ tot h	vessel's dimensions (aperture, diameter, base, height, neck height, cup height, foot height, cover height, tot height) given in mm	
bd prof	body profile for storing and cooking vessels	[flat-base jar] 6 (rounded)
cp prof	cup profile for bowls and dishes	[dou] 1 (hemispherical)
nk prop	neck proportion	[jars] C (short neck)
nk prof	neck profile	[jars] 1 (straight)
ft prof	foot profile	[dou] 2 (bell-shaped)
border	border (*yan*) shape	a (oblique outward flaring)
lip	lip (*chun*) shape	III (squared profile)
shoulder	shoulder shape	a (round shoulders)
base	base shape	F (flat)
lateral handles	presence/absence of lateral handles	no
loop no.	number of loop handles	2
MANUFACTURE		
ware texture	body ware texture	sandy
ware colour	body ware colour	red
manuf tech	manufacture technique	n.r.
firing	firing temperature	low
surf treat	surface treatment	B (burnished)
surf colour	surface colour	grey
surf dec	surface decoration	a (cord pattern)
dec tech	decoration technique	R (roller stamping)
REFERENCE		
fig	figure	
pl	plate	
notes	notes and comments	

The pottery vessel ID is made by the grave ID followed by the inventory number referring to the vessel, which was substituted by x1, x2, etc when not given in the report. The vessel type is followed by three different classification codes: the first one refers to the one used in the archaeological report (if given) and is usually limited to one

specific site; the second, inspired by Gardin system of classification (Gardin 1976) is a string code describing the main morphological characteristics of the vessel and the third one refers to the classification system adopted in this work for data analysis. The description of the morphology, summarised in the string codes, is also given in the different fields containing the codes for body/cup/neck/foot profile and cup/neck/foot proportion; when the specific attributes were lacking, they were substituted in the same string code with an "x". The coding system referring to the typology is explained in the section 4.3 on typological classification of this chapter.

In the same *pottery vessels* table a few fields are devoted to their manufacture; the texture is described with reference to its texture and colour while the technology used includes the manufacture technique (W wheel thrown, H hand-made, sW slow wheel), the firing temperature (L low, H high), the surface treatment and the decoration. The surfaces are often finished with a wash or a coat [S] and in some cases slightly burnished [B]. The decoration tends to be quite homogenous in the earlier period and to show a higher degree of differentiation in the later phase, around the end of the Warring States period and the Western Han dynasty; the decoration techniques and motifs are listed in the table below (table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Decoration techniques and motifs on pottery vessels

Code	Decoration technique	Examples
G	grooving	
R	roller stamping	
I	incised	

Code	Decoration motifs	Examples
a	cord pattern	
b	basket pattern	
c	simple line	
d	multiple lines	
e	lozenge	Shifang SFM2:2
f	transversal lines made by narrow vertical strokes	
g	transversal lines made by vertical strokes	
h	rectangle with letters	

A final section is devoted to the state of conservation of the vessel and to the bibliographic references and the illustrations (drawings, plates, photographs) used as documentation.

The table *bronze weapons* includes the fields described in the table 4.4. The bronze weapon ID is made by the grave ID followed by the inventory number referring to the weapon, which was substituted by x1, x2, etc when not directly given in the

report. The weapon type refers to the traditional name gave to the object in Chinese archaeology followed by the typological group given in the report and by the classification code adopted in this work for data analysis.

Table 4.4 Fields of the table Bronze weapons

Field name	Explanation	Examples
WEAPON ID		
grave ID	grave code	86YTM1
weapon ID	weapon inventory number	5
type	weapon type	mao
group	group as given in the archaeological report	BI
typology	typology	BIa1
report	description in the archaeological report	yes
DIMENSIONS and MORPHOLOGY		
yuan length nei-jiao-jing lenght nei-jiao-jing lenght qiong diam-length-width section tot width/tot length arrowheads wings length ding length	weapon's dimensions (blade [*yuan*], handle [*nei*, *jiao*, *jing*, *qiong*], total) and arrowheads' dimensions given in mm	
nei/jiao shape ID	shape of handle (*nei*) in *ge*	1 (rectangular)
nei end ID	shape of the handle's end side in *ge*	3 (three-pointed)
nei hole	shape of the *nei* hole in *ge*	2 (pearl shaped)
yuan shape	shape of the blade in *ge* and *mao*	7 (salix leaf)
yuan ridge	presence/absence of the yuan ridge in *ge* and *jian*	yes
yuan hole	shape of the *yuan* hole	3 (lozenge)
lan	presence/absence of *lan* between handle and blade in *ge*	
end holes no.	number of holes at the base of the blade in *ge*	3
hu shape	*hu* shape in *ge*	3 (outward)
conservation		
REFERENCE		
fig	figure	
pl	plate	
notes	notes and comments	

The description of the morphology is given in different fields referring to the components of the weapons [FIG: drawing]. The coding system referring to the attribute description and to the typology is more extensively explained in the section 4.3 on typological classification of this chapter.

The *bronze vessels* table follows the structure of the *pottery vessels* table, and is divided into different sections devoted to the vessel ID (inventory, type, classification code), dimensions and morphology (body/neck/rim/border profile), decoration and reference. The vessel types are partly similar to the pottery vessels (*mou*, *fu*, *fuzeng*, *pen*) but also include some specific categories which are presented in the section devoted to the typological classification.

In the *bronze objects* table all the objects of daily use, like knives, axes, and chisels, are recorded, while ornaments and personal objects, as belt-hooks, pendants,

bracelets, seals, are recorded in the table *bronze decoration*. They are described with regard to their dimensions, morphology and decoration.

Table 4.5 Decoration motifs of bronze weapons

decor ID		decor	example
0		no decoration	
1		*huiwen* or volutes in a pattern	Chengdu Xijiao *ge* 73CXM1:18 [fig. 4.52/4]
2		mask	
	2a	zoomorphic mask (tiger)	Chengdu Xijiao *ge* 73CXM1:16 [fig. 4.52/3]
	2b	stylised mask	Mianzhu Qingdao *mao* 76MQM1:83
3		*taotie* mask	
	3a	*taotie* mask	Chengdu Xijiao *ge* 73CXM1:18 [fig. 4.52/4]
	3b	stylised *taotie* mask	Dayi Wulong *ge* 82DWM2:20 [fig. 4.54/7]
4		*fuhao*-symbols used as characters	Yunyang *mao* 97LJM51:1
5		geometric motifs	Shifang *mao* SFM38:18; Guangyuan Zhaohua 95GZM21:1
6		zoomorphic motifs	
	6.I	Dragon	Tongxincun *ge* 85YTM1:8 [fig. 4.61/4]
	6.II	dragon and deer	Shifang *mao* SFM39:4 [fig. 4.67/2]
	6.III	Cicada	Shifang *mao* 97LJM23:2 [fig. 4.68/4]
	6.IV	crouched tiger	Shifang *mao* SFM10:9 [fig. 4.64/11]
	6.IX	fish/bird	Emeixian Fuxixiang *ge* 72EF:x1
	6.V	long beak bird	*mao* SFM1:18 [fig. 4.64/1]
	6.VI	plumed bird	Shifang *ge* SFM30:2
	6.VII	bird with long beak	Emeixian Fuxixiang *ge* 72EF:x2 [fig. 4.54/8]
	6.VIII	Pigs	Shifang *mao* SFM23:8 [4.69/2]
	6.X	tiger+rat	Xindu Majia *mao* 80XMM1:x3 [fig. 4.64/6]
	6.XI	lizard	Chengdu Sandongqiao *mao* 83CSM3:3 [fig. 4.64/10]
	6.XII	flat zoomorphic figure	Jianwei Wulong *ge* 77JWM6:1 [fig. 4.57/2]
7		three diagonal bands on the blade	Chengdu Guangrongxiaoqu *mao* 92CGM5:2
8		"tiger fur" pattern	Yingjing Tongxincun *jian* 86YTM21a:38 [fig. 4.78/1]
9		semi-circles	Yingjing Tongxincun *jian* 86YTM21a:38 [ibid.]
10		circles	Chengdu Wuxian *ge* 80XMM1:x6 [fig. 4.51/3]
11		back spine	Shifang *mao* SFM10:9 [fig. 4.64/11]
12		compound *fuhao* symbols	Tongxincun *jian* 86YTM21a:38 [fig. 4.77/1]
13		Greek fret or *leiwen*	Xindu Majia *mao* 80XXM1:x31 [fig. 4.64/5]
14		stylised motifs	
	14a	stylised motifs	Chengdu Huacheng *ge* 92CHM1:14
	14b	stylised dragon	Shifang *jian* SFM49:30 [fig. 4.80]
15		one *leiwen*	Yingjing Tongxincun *ge* 86YTM9:6
16		circles in high relief	Mianzhu Qingdao *ge* 76MQM1:112 [fig. 4.54/9]
17		cross on the blade	Chengdu Guangrongxiaoqu *jian* 92CGM5:32
18		single symbols	
	18a	heart	Mianzhu Qingdao *mao* 76MQM1:80
	18b	wang	Chengu Jinyucun *mao* 86CJM1:9
	18c	hand	Chengdu Jinyucun mao 86CJM1:9
	18d	double triangle	Chengdu Jinyucun *mao* 86CJM1:7
	18f	ge	Tongxincun *ge* 86YTM21a:29
	18g	single dragon	Chengdu Jinshaxiang *ge* 93CGM1:7
19		incised lines on the *nei*	
	19a	four lines	Chengdu Zhongyi xueyuan *ge* 80CZM1:11 [fig. 4.50/3]
	19b	two lines	Chengdu Xijiao *ge* 73CXM1:21
20		incised line along the *nei* edge	
	20a	line [on handle	Chengdu Zhongyi xueyuan *ge* 80CZM1:12 [fig. 4.50/5]
	20b	line [with curled ends	Guangyuan Zhaohua *ge* 95GZM17:2
21		volutes within a square	Chengdu Wuxian *ge* 63CWM1:3 [fig. 4.52/1]

22		volutes	Xindu Majia *mao* 80XXM1:x31 [fig. 4.64/5]
23		central concave line on the blade	Tongxincun *ge* 86YTM1:3
24		holes on the blade	Shifang *mao* SFM1:16 [fig. 4.70]
25		inscription	Fuling 72FXM3:13 [fig. 4.63/3]
26		central circle with two ribbons	Chengdu Xijiao *jian* 73CXM1:34 [fig. 4.77/1]
27		stylised figure	Shifang *jian* SFM3:4

The *lacquer objects* table includes both lacquer and wooden vessels and objects with reference to their typology and painted decoration; vessels and objects are also combined together in the case of the *iron objects* table. A distinct table was also created for glass, stone and jade objects, which however represent a very small percentage of the total number of grave goods.

The *bronze weapons* table is linked to the *bronze weapons decoration* table with a one-to-many relationship. In this case the burial ID and weapon ID are followed by the location of the decor on the object (blade, socket, etc.) and the design ID. All the four fields formed a primary key in order to avoid redundancies in the data. Following are the codes used for the decorative motifs, their description and related examples (table 4.5).

The decoration is one of the major variables of the bronze weapons as it shows a large range of variations and it clearly differentiates the individual objects.

4.3 TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

All the grave goods found in the burials were divided according to their material into nine groups: pottery vessels, bronze weapons, bronze vessels, bronze objects, bronze ornaments, iron objects/vessels, glass/jade/bone ornaments, lacquer/wooden objects/vessels and seals. The morphological and functional characteristics of all the objects have been described in the various entries of the database as illustrated above. The morphological and functional characteristics evidenced by the description were used to divide the grave goods into distinct typological classes and groups. This classification was a fundamental step in order to undertake the correspondence analysis, discussed in chapters 5 and 6, which looks at the association of different classes of material within certain kinds of burials in the whole region. It was thus necessary to create a consistent system of classification linking all the material from the various archaeological reports; this system can also be considered one of the main contributions

of this study, because the existing Chinese systems vary from site to site thus making it impossible to carry out my proposed analysis.

In this section I will describe all the classes of objects identified as units of analysis and I will discuss their specific meaning and relevance within the more general topic of cultural and social identities. For the most significant classes I will suggest what kind of cultural or social groups are likely to be represented when some of these items or sets of them are contained in a specific burial.

4.3.1 Pottery vessels

Pottery vessels were found in most of the burials under study although significant variations were identified in their types, quantity, variety and combinations with other classes of material. The high quantity and variety of pottery vessels will generally be considered as evidence of a higher status, while the relative number of pottery objects against bronze items will be interpreted either as a chronological indicator or as evidence of rank (elite vs. low-mid rank) or of differences in social affiliation (military vs. settled communities). For certain specific classes, particular relevance will be given to the definition of local and non-local items, and of hand-made and more technological refined vessels; in some cases, these traits can be particularly significant for the identification of specific social and cultural groups.

The description and subsequent classification of pottery vessels was inspired by the system based on geometric solids proposed by Anna O. Shepard (1956: 234-35) for closed and restricted vessels, integrated by the system adopted by the Museum of London for cataloguing medieval jars (MP 1998) (fig. 4.1). The profile of the mouth or opening (restricted/close or unrestricted/open) is seen at the point where neck, collar or rim are attached to the body; in this regard the cooking and storage vessels *fu* and *guan* are all considered restricted vessels with different necks and rims, while the drinking and serving vessels like *dou* and *pen* are regarded as open vessels. The description was also synthesised into a coding system, partly inspired by Gardin (1976) and based on string codes referring to the main morphological traits of the vessel.

The pottery vessels were divided into 33 groups which partly follow the Chinese traditional classification system based on functional classes (cooking vessels, storage vessels, serving and eating vessels). These general categories were further divided to include variations in morphological features within the same class obtaining a total

number of 140 typological groups. The codes were made using Arab letters, indicating the vessel category, followed by a letter and Roman number for its morphological class and group. For the purpose of the analysis, however, a total number of 51 typological groups were used; they were obtained merging those categories with similar traits.

4.3.1.1 Storing and cooking vessels

The definitions used for the profile morphology of storing and cooking, like *guan*, *fu* and *hu* vessels, were inspired by the vessel description proposed by Anne Shepard (1956). The fields describing the morphological features of these vessels include: body profile, neck profile, neck proportions and shoulders profile; the numerical codes for each morphological trait were inserted into the corresponding fields "profile", "neck profile", "neck proportions", "shoulders profile", "rim profile" and "lip profile" of the table "pottery vessels" in the database (table 4.6). The vessels are also sometimes described with reference to the body proportion: narrow when the maximum diameter is less than the height, medium when it is equal and wide when it is greater than the vessels' height (table 4.7).

Table 4.6 Pottery vessels body profile and proportions

	Body profile	Description
1	Globular	"rounded profile merging into a round base with no discernible basal angle" (MP 1998: 4.1.5) (fig. 4.1/1)
2	Ellipsoid	the profile is similar to the globular but the diameter is generally larger than the height. In Museum of London system it is included into the globular (MP 1998: 4.1.5.e) (fig. 4.1/2)
3	Ovaloid (lower body larger)	the max diameter is located in the lower part of the body; the shoulders can be outward sloping or ridged. Most of the round-base *guan* [Gr.AII] show this profile (fig. 4.1/3)
4	Ovaloid (upper part larger)	the max diameter is located in the upper part of the body. High shoulders, inward flaring lower body and small base. The characteristics of this category can be found in the so-called *weng* type [Gf.III] (fig. 4.1/4)
5	Ovaloid (high shoulders)	high inward sloping shoulders, slightly inward flaring lower body and medium or large base (as the "shouldered jars" in MP 1998: 4.1.8.b). In this category *guan* with short or high neck and flat bases are included (fig. 4.1/.5)
6	Rounded	slightly inward-flaring lower body and medium or large base (as the "rounded jars" in MP 1998: 4.1.7.a and b) (fig. 4.1/6)
7	Cylinder	roughly vertical walls [see examples in MP sec. 4.1.3.a], or slightly convex or concave like the "albarello" (MP 1998: 4.1.2.a) (fig. 4.1/7)
8	Biconical	this profile resembles two truncated cones joined together at the widest point, forming a carination at the centre of the vessel (see examples in MP 1998: 4.1.1.a) (fig. 4.1/8)

Table 4.7 Pottery vessels neck proportions and profile

	Neck proportions	Description
A	high neck	necks with height equal or more than half of the total height
B	short neck	neck height between 1/3 or ¼ of the total height
C	no neck	other cases

	Neck profile	Description
1	straight	
2	outward flaring	
3	inward flaring	

In the case of some *fu* (e.g. SFM25:13) it was difficult to evaluate the exact point of inflection between the neck and the body and between the neck and the outward rim. Although there is a recognisable difference between neck and collar, it was decided to merge them in the field *neck*, which was described in regard to its proportions and profile. The general term *outward profile* used for vessels *fu* and *guan* refers to their outward flaring rim or neck.

The part of the vessel body referred to as "shoulders" is the upper body section between the maximum diameter and the opening or the beginning of the neck (table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Pottery vessels shoulders profile

	Shoulders profile
a	round shoulder
b	outward sloping shoulders
c	ridged shoulders
d	pointed

Table 4.9 Pottery vessels rim profile and lip shape

	Rim profile
a	oblique outward flaring
b	flat outward flaring
c	straight

	Lip shape
I	simple slightly pointed
II	round profile
III	squared profile
IV	downward flaring
V	two-pointed profile

The morphology of the rim is generally described regarding its profile and further specified with reference to the lip shape (table 4.9).

4.3.1.1.1 Fu [F]

The *fu* is a particular type of cooking vessel or cauldron, characterised by a round base, globular or ellipsoid body, short or high neck with an outward flaring rim, usually made by hand and refined on the slow-wheel (figs. 4.2-6). The surface of the body and the base is in most cases decorated with a simple cord pattern produced with a tool (figs. 4.48/1-3). The bottom often shows black stains caused by either firing or burying. Five classes and seven groups have been identified (table 4.10). The most common example [F.A] has a globular body with "a rounded profile merging into a round base with no discernible basal angle" (MP 1998: 4.1.5); this type can have a high or medium neck and no inflection point at the shoulders [F.AI] (fig. 4.2), a short neck with a more marked inflection point at the shoulders [F.AII] (fig. 4.3) or a nearly straight short neck [F.AIII] (fig. 4.4). The average height ranges between 10 to 20 cm and the diameter between 13 to 22 cm. For the purpose of the analysis the groups F.AI and F.AII have been merged.

Fig. 4.10 Types of FU vessel

class	group	morphological traits	examples	figure
F.A		globular body with neck		
	F.AI	high neck, no shoulders	Shifang SFM25:13	4.2
	F.AII	short neck, shoulders	Shifang SFM20:8	4.3
	F.AIII	straight neck, small dimensions	Yingjing Nanluoba 88YLM10:9	4.4
F.B		ellipsoid body	Shifang SFM20:11	4.5
F.C		ellipsoid body with marked outward rim	Shifang SFM14:11	4.6
F.D		globular body with spout	Mianzhu Qingdao 78MQM2:2	
F.E		ellipsoid body with feet	Pixian Guchengxiang 97PGM21:16	

The second class of *fu* [F.B] has an ellipsoid profile with an outward flaring rim, round or squared [F.BI] (fig. 4.5) or simply straight or pointed [F.BII]. The average height ranges from 6 to 15 cm, while the diameter between 16 to 27 cm; the groups F.BI and F.BII have been merged for analytical purposes.

The third class [F.C] is characterised by the same ellipsoid profile but a more marked outward flaring rim, which can be medium-large [F.CI] or large [F.CII]. Many examples of this class are decorated on the body and on the base with an impressed cord-pattern characterised by large bands or small incised triangles (figs. 4.48: 4, 8). The groups F.CI and F.CII have been merged for the analysis.

Other classes of this vessel are rare: one [F.D] is a special kind of *fu* with an ellipsoid profile and a spout; another one [F.E] is a F.B *fu* type with three small feet.

The *fu* with impressed cord-pattern can be considered one of the most characteristic vessel types in Sichuan burials. It was produced in different areas of the region with only slight variations in the fabric, dimensions and decoration of the vessel, while maintaining a general consistency in the shape and decorative techniques adopted, like the cord-pattern produced on its surface. The data collected for this research show that this kind of vessel was continuously produced in the region during the Warring States and Qin-Han periods, and it was likely a local and traditional item characterising many burials, and associated to other local items or to non-local and imported types. The most visible change in the style of decoration, from a fine-patterned cord motif (fig. 4.48.1 and 3) to thicker lines (fig. 4.48.4) or impressed triangles (fig. 4.48.8), was found in the burial of the late Warring States or Qin-Han periods.

The data collected also seems to show that its use was not limited to a specific rank or social group but cross-cut different contexts (i.e. elite and non-elite groups) and thus to be a possible evidence of the existence of local cultural traditions. In the course of analysis I will thus evaluate and discuss the presence or absence of this pottery type with regard to the persistence or decline of local customs, trying to characterise the development and changes of funerary practices in different areas.

4.3.1.1.2 Guan [G]

The *guan* refers to the general category of jars or storage vessels (fig. 4.7-26). It is one of the broadest categories in Chinese archaeology, including all sorts of jar types that can also be named differently according to the context; for example the names *weng* (here coded as Gf.C), *hu* (here Gf.DIII) or *lei* (here Gf.B).

Table 4.11 Types of GUAN with round base [Gr]

class	group	morphological traits	examples	figure
Gr.A		Shoulders		
	Gr.AI	globular body + straight neck	Shifang SFM65:2	4.7
	Gr.AII	ovaloid body + straight neck	Shifang SFM21:8	4.8
	Gr.AIII	ovaloid body	Nanluoba 88YLM10:9	4.9
	Gr.AIV	oblique shoulders	Zhongxian 98ZGYBM22:19	4.10
	Gr.V	cilinder neck	Pujiang 82PDM2:37	4.11
Gr.B		globular body/ no shoulders	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM21a:70	4.12

The *guan* with round bases [Gr], usually made by hand and on the slow-wheel, have been divided into two classes and five groups according to the body profile (table

4.11): the first class [Gr.A] include vessels with a marked inclination line between shoulders and neck, while the second class [Gr.B] refers to jars with no clear demarcation between the two parts (fig. 4.12).

The first group in the class A [Gr.AI] is characterised by a globular body, short straight neck and squared rim (fig. 4.7), and the second group [Gr.AII] has vessels with an ovaloid body larger in the bottom part and a straight neck (fig. 4.8); they are usually decorated with a cord-pattern similar to the *fu* vessels. The third group [Gr.AIII] includes items with an ellipsoid profile, high shoulders and a short neck (fig. 4.9); the fourth group [Gr.AIV] comprises jars with an ovaloid profile, high shoulders and a short neck (fig. 4.10), usually decorated with a thin cord pattern (fig. 4.48:5), while the fifth [Gr.AV] is an unusual example found in Pujiang with biconical profile and straight neck with outward flaring rim (fig. 4.11).

As in the case of *fu* vessels, the types Gr.AI-II and Gr.B can be considered a characteristic local production largely adopted in Sichuan burials especially from the mid-late Warring States period; they also replicate the same cord-pattern motif found on *fu* vessels. The presence of *fu* and round-base *guan* is not however attested in all Sichuan burials, which seem to have various combinations as regard the presence and quantity of these two categories. For example, a meaningful differentiation, possibly related to mortuary practices or to different ways of displaying status, seems to lay in the use of large storage vessels in some graves as opposed to the use of small vessels, like bowls, or sets of bronze weapons in others.

The type Gr.IV belongs instead to a later tradition and is mainly found in Early Western Han sites; the shape and decoration of these vessels markedly differ from those of the preceding types and their presence has been taken as a chronological indicator of late burials.

The *guan* with flat bases [Gf] have been divided into 12 classes and 25 sub-groups according to their morphological characteristics (table 4.12). The class Gf.A includes vessels with a biconical profile and is divided into different groups according to the dimensions of the neck. The vessels in group Gf.AI have a high neck and an everted rim (fig. 4.13); they are generally wheel thrown and with polished surfaces. The vessels in the group Gf.AII, with biconical profiles but high shoulders, have instead short straight necks with a round or slightly squared rim (fig. 4.14).

The class Gf.B refers to the vessels having a globular or ovaloid profile and a very short collar neck; they are usually large storage jars, wheel-thrown and decorated

with parallel incised lines on the shoulders and impressed cord pattern on the body. The Gf.BIa includes vessels with a globular profile, slightly flaring lower body and a large aperture with a round collar (fig. 4.15/1,3), while the group Gf.BIb comprises jars with the same globular body and flaring lower body, but with higher inward sloping shoulders (fig. 4.15/2,4). The group Gf.BIc has vessels with a more ovaloid profile and max diameter at the shoulders, flaring lower body and larger aperture (fig. 4.15/5), while group Gf.BId can be considered a smaller version of the preceding group. For the purpose of the analysis the groups Gf.BIa and Gf.BIb have been merged together, as Gf.BIc and Gf.BId. The types Gf.BIa-b were mainly found in the Yingjing area, often in association with large round-base storage vessels (Gr.AI-II). The decoration applied on their surface belongs to the same cord-pattern motif found on *fu* vessels.

The group Gf.BII also comprises large storage vessels, wheel thrown but usually with no decoration, except in the case of linear motifs produced with a comb (fig. 4.48/7); Gf.BIIa refers to vessels with a globular body and short round neck (fig. 4.16/1), Gf.BIIb to similar jars but with a more inward flaring lower body (fig. 4.16/2), and Gf.BIIc to large vessels with high shoulders and short straight neck (4.16/3). All these types were found in later burials dated to the Qin or Han periods; they show a high level of craftsmanship and a mastered use of the wheel, but no association with the possibly local cord-pattern tradition. They could thus be taken in some cases as chronological indicators of a late date (Qin-Han) and in some others as evidence of a substantial technological advance in manufacturing techniques, possibly due the existence of more industrial means of production following the foundation of the Qin empire.

The class Gf.C refers to the *guan* type usually named *weng* and characterised by an ovaloid profile with the upper part much larger and the maximum diameter at the shoulders, high shoulders, inward flaring lower body and large straight neck. These vessels, generally used as storage containers, can have larger bases [Gf.CI] (fig. 4.17/1-2) or very small ones [Gf.CII] (fig. 4.17/3), or show distinct and unusual morphological characteristics like an ovaloid profile with marked high shoulders [Gf.CIII] (fig. 4.18/1), an egg-shaped body [Gf.CIV] (fig. 4.18/2) or an ovaloid profile with round and sloping shoulders [Gf.CV] (fig. 4.18/3). Nearly all of the groups, except Gf.CIII, are decorated with cord-pattern on the shoulders and body. The types Gf.CI-CII, the most widespread, were mainly found in the Chengdu Plain, and associated to a local pottery tradition.

The class Gf.D comprises vessels with an ovaloid profile, characterised by high and marked shoulders and by a medium/high neck with an outward flaring rim.

Table 4.12 Types of GUAN with flat base (Gf.A-E)

class	group	morphological traits	examples	fig.
Gf.A		biconical profile		
	Gf.AI	high neck	Shifang SFM25:25	4.13
	Gf.AII	short neck	Zhaoxian 98ZGYBM22:82	4.14
Gf.B		globular/ovoidal profile		
	Gf.BIa	globular body, flaring lower body	Tongxincun 86YTM2:1	4.15/1,3
	Gf.BIb	globular body, flaring lower body, high shoulders	Tongxincun 86YTM9:12	4.15/2,4
	Gf.BIc	ovaloid body, flaring lower body	Zhongxian 98ZGYBM22:87	4.15/5
	Gf.BId	small version of BIc	Zhongxian 98ZGYBM22:55	
	Gf.BIIa	globular profile, short/small neck, large dimensions	Zhongxian 98ZGYCM7:19	4.16/1
	Gf.BIIb	globular profile, short/small neck, more inward flaring lower body	Zhongxian 99ZGYCM16:38	4.16/2
	Gf.BIIc	ovaloid profile, high shoulders, large dimensions	Mianyang 92MSM1:1	4.16/3
Gf.C		*weng* shape		
	Gf.CI	ovaloid profile, high shoulders, small base	Shifang SFM24:9	4.171,2
	Gf.CII	ovaloid profile, high shoulders, base smaller than Gf.CI	Baolunyuan 54GZM16:5	4.17/3
	Gf.CIII	ovaloid profile, marked high shoulders	Lijiang Yijiaba 97LJM48:2	4.18/1
	Gf.CIV	ovaloid profile, round shoulders, flaring rim	Lijiang Yijiaba 97LJM48:1	4.18/2
	Gf.CV	ovaloid profile, round shoulder, straight neck	Chengdu Luojianian 92CLM34:11	4.18/3
Gf.D		ovaloid/globular profile, high shoulders		
	Gf.DI	ovaloid profile, round shoulders	Tongxincun 86YTM13:9	4.19
	Gf.DII	ovaloid profile, high shoulders, inward flaring lower body	Tongxincun 86YTM8:4	4.20
	Gf.DIII	ovaloid profile, elongated body	Baolunyuan 95GZM17:23	4.21
	Gf.DIVa	globular profile, round shoulders, outward flaring rim	Zhongxian 98ZGYBM8:51	4.22/1
	Gf.DIVb	ovaloid profile, high shoulders, outward flaring rim	Zhongxian 98ZGYBM8:17	4.22/2
Gf.E		high shoulders, inward flaring lower body, high neck		
	Gf.EI	short neck	Baolunyuan 95GZM20:9	4.23
	Gf.EII	high neck, round shoulders	Lijiaba 97LJM34:2	4.24
	Gf.EIII	straight cylinder neck	Lijiaba 97LJM26:3	4.25/1
	Gf.EIV	elongated cylinder neck	Lijiaba 97LJM48:6	4.25/2

The group Gf.DI is characterised by high and round shoulders (fig. 4.19), while the group Gf.DII has a more marked inward flaring lower body (fig. 4.20); the vessels belonging to both groups are decorated with bands of parallel impressed straight lines produced with a tool. These two groups were merged together for analytical purposes; they were mainly found in the Yingjing area together with other storage vessels, like the

above-mentioned round and flat-base jars, suggesting the existence of quite specific mortuary customs. The class Gf.DIII shows a more elongated body with round and sloping shoulders, inward flaring lower body and outward flaring rim (fig. 4.21). The groups Gf.DIVa and Gf.DIVb are characterised by globular [Gf.DIVa] (fig. 4.22/1) and more ovaloid [Gf.DIVb] (fig. 4.22/2) profiles with a marked outward flaring rim; these vessels are all wheel thrown and with polished surfaces, and decorated with simple parallel impressed lines. These types were found in burials dated to the Early Western Han period in the area of Zhongxian and usually associated with the jars Gf.BIIa-b; they could thus be taken as chronological indicators of a late date (Han) and evidence of the existence of a more technologically advanced pottery tradition.

The class Gf.E, which includes the vessels generally referred to as *hu*, is characterised by jars with a small ovaloid body with a large and high neck, sometimes corresponding to half of the whole vessel's height; this type is mainly found in the southern areas of Zhongxian and Lijiaba (and resemble those produced in the nearby Hubei region). The groups Gf.EI and Gf.EII are distinct examples with a short neck corresponding to about 1/3 of the jar's height in the first case and a higher neck with rounded shoulders in the second (fig. 4.23-24); they are sometimes decorated with simple lines produced with a comb (fig. 4.48:7). The groups Gf.EIII and Gf.EIV better exemplify the type: the neck is high and large, with a cylindrical shape, more straight in the group Gf.EIII (fig. 4.25/1) and thinner and more elongated in the second case (fig. 4.25/2). The types E.II-E.IV, mainly found in the sites of Lijiaba and Zhongxian in Eastern Sichuan, resemble the *hu* types found in the Warring States burials of the nearby Hubei region and generally associated to the Chu culture of south-China.

The other classes of flat-base *guan* are less commonly seen or distributed only in specific areas (table 4.13). The class Gf.F refers to containers with high shoulders, oblique walls and inward flaring body with a large aperture and a straight short neck (fig. 4.26/1); these vessels were mainly found in the area of Yingjing Tongxincun and, with slight variations, in Nanluoba and Yunyang Lijiaba. The class G, also referred to as *meng*, includes similar vessels but with globular or ellipsoid profiles and round shoulders (fig. 4.26/2); most of the examples were found in Yunyang Lijiaba. Both classes are small dimension jars mainly used as containers and can be associated to a local pottery tradition limited to specific sites.

The class Gf.H is a special kind of jar with an elongated ovoid profile and two loops as handles, similar to the "amphora" type; it was mainly found in the north of

Sichuan, in Qingchuan or Mianyang; the variation Gf.Ha refers to the same kind of vessel but with feet. The class Gf.I refers to a large storage jar with a biconical profile, four loop-handles on the shoulders and a small flaring rim; a single occurrence was found in Lijiaba and referred to as *fou* jar. The class Gf.L include small jars with slightly concave walls, two small handles on the shoulders and a cover; the only example was found in Zhongxian. The class Gf.M refers to vessels with a pronounced round profile and a large aperture; the only occurrence was also found in Zhongxian. The class Gf.N includes vessels with a cylindrical profile, roughly vertical walls and short straight neck. The vessels of all these classes are wheel thrown and generally have polished surfaces; they were commonly found in late burials dated to the beginning of the Han dynasty.

Table 4.13 Types of GUAN with flat base [Gf.F-N]

class	group	morphological traits	examples	class
Gf.F		high shoulders, inward flaring body, large aperture	Tongxincun 87YTM2:4	4.26/1
Gf.G		globular/ellipsoid profile, round shoulders	Nanluoba 88YLM2:4	4.26/2
Gf.H		ovoid profile, double handles	Mianyang 92MSM1:10	
	Gf.Ha		Zhongxian 99ZGYCM16:49	
Gf.I		biconical profile, four loop-handles	Lijiaba 97LJM14:2	
Gf.L		concave walls, two handles, cover	Zhongxian 98ZGYBM10:37	
Gf.M		round profile	Zhongxian 98ZGYBM10:7	

4.3.1.1.3 Hu [H]

The *hu* is a kind of urn-shaped vase, quadrangular or rounded in section, used for storing wine or for ritual purposes. Some of the models made in bronze during the Zhou dynasty inspired the pottery vessels of the Warring States period. They were found in specific areas like Baxian Dongsunba and Lijiaba along the Yangzi river in Eastern Sichuan and Zhaohua Baolunyuan, Shifang and Qingchuan in the north of the region. The vessels were divided into three classes and ten groups (table 4.14).

The class H.I refers to those vessels with a globular body and four loops on the shoulders inspired by similar bronze items; they can have a short/medium [H.Ia] (fig. 4.27/1-2) or a more elongated [H.Ib] neck (fig. 4.27/3). Their surface is usually left undecorated. The class H.II includes vases with an ovoidal, globular ellipsoid profile, elongated neck and often a cover; they can have high shoulders [H.IIa], globular body [H.IIb], ovaloid profile and large neck [H.IIc], and downward sloping shoulders, large

lower body and no foot [H.IId] (fig. 4.28/1-4). This class is partly similar to the flat-base jars Gf.E.III, sometimes referred to as *hu*. The surface is usually decorated with bands of parallel or diagonal incised lines, and painted volutes. The types H.IIa and H.IId were inspired by similar bronze vessels.

Table 4.14 Types of HU vessel

class	group	morphological traits	examples	figure
H.I		globular body, 4 loops on shoulders		
	H.Ia	globular body, short/medium neck	Tongxincun 86YTM19:35	4.27/1-2
	H.Ib	globular body, elongated neck	Dongsunba 54BDM33:10	4.27/3
H.II		elongated neck		
	H.IIa	high shoulder, circular foot	Lijiaba 97LJM26:1	4.28/1
	H.IIb	globular body	Lijiaba 97LJM13:1	4.28/2
	H.IIc	ovoidal body, large neck	Lijiaba 97LJM45:6	4.28/3
	H.IId	ovoidal body, lower part larger	Lijiaba 97LJM43:12	4.28/4
H.III		globular body, max diam at mid body, medium/short neck		
	H.IIIa	globular body, medium neck	Qingchuan 72QM13:1	4.29/1
	H.IIIb	no foot	Qingchuan 72QM45:1	4.29/2
	H.IIIc	bottle-shape *hu*	Qingchuan 72QM64:1	4.29/3

The class H.III comprises the vessels with globular body, max diameter at mid body and a medium or short neck. The group H.IIIa includes those vessels which more closely imitate the *hu* made in bronze (fig. 4.29/1); they can have two loop handles or a cover with three zoomorphic figures. The vessels in group H.IIIb have a bottle-shape body with no foot, while the group H.IIIc is the traditional "gourd-shaped neck bottle" similar to pottery and bronze types found in the Shaanxi region and generally associated to the Qin culture (figs. 4.29/2-3). Another common feature of the types inspired by bronze ritual vessels (H.I, H.IIa and H.IId, H.IIIa) is their association with items found in elite burials of the Hubei region and generally regarded as items of Chu culture. Their adoption in Sichuan burials can possibly suggest the attempt to replicate the shapes of elite bronze ritual vessels in a medium (pottery) more easily affordable by non-elite groups wishing to conform to the ritual customs of high-rank class members.

4.3.1.1.4 Zeng [Z] - Fuzeng [FZ]

The *zeng* and *fuzeng* are two types of cooking vessels used for steaming food. The *zeng* is a basin with a pierced flat base which is placed on the top of a *fu* jar, thus the compound name *fuzeng*. The vessels can be made of two distinct parts or can be a single vessel with a pierced element placed internally at the point of inflection of the walls.

The type was divided into four classes and six groups (table 4.15). The vessels in the class FZ.I are made of two globular parts; the group FZ.Ia includes those usually not decorated and with two handles on the *zeng* section, while the group FZ.Ib are those with a cord pattern decoration and no handles (fig. 4.30/1-2). The class FZ.II refers to the vessels with no removable element inside (fig. 4.30/3). The class FZ.III refers to the vessels with two parts, one *zeng* [FZ.IIIa] with a small protruding base and two loop handles and one *fu* [FZ.IIIb] with three feet and two loop handles (fig. 4.31/1-2). The class FZ.IV includes those vessels with a single continuing element and characterised by an upper part (*fu*) larger than the bottom part (*zeng*) (fig. 4.31/3-4).

Table 4.15 Types of FUZENG vessel

class	group	morphological traits	examples	figure
FZ.I		single element, globular profiles; removable sieving element		
	FZ.Ia	two handles, no decoration	Shifang SFM21:13	4.30/1
	FZ.Ib	no handles, cord pattern	Shifang SFM53:6	4.30/2
FZ.II		single element, no removable element	Dayi Wulong 82DWM3:7	4.30/3
FZ.III		two individual elements		
	FZ.IIIa	*zeng*	Shifang SFM59:4	4.31/1
	FZ.IIIb	*fu*	Dongsunba 54BDM30:2	4.31/2
FZ.IV		single element, upper part larger than lower part	Lijiaba 97LJM43:8 Lijiaba 97LJM19:4	4.31/3-4

Individual *zeng* are simple basins *pen* with a pierced flat base, having both a carinated profile [Z.I] and inward flaring walls [Z.II].

4.3.1.1.5 Mou [M] – Fu with handles [Fh]

Other kinds of cooking and storage vessels are the *fu* [Fh], with a globular or ovaloid body and two grips or loop handles on both sides, and the *mou*, a kind of water jar with a globular body and a lateral handle, sometimes decorated with a characteristic plait pattern (table 4.16). They are both inspired by similar models made in bronze.

Table 4.16 Types of MOU and FU with handles

class	group	morphological traits	examples	figure
M.I				
	M.Ia	no pattern	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM5:12	4.32/1
	M.Ib	handle with plait pattern	Yingjing Nanluoba 88YLM9:28	4.32/2
Fh		ellipsoid body, two handles, round base	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM6:4	4.32/3

The *mou* is a local production of the Sichuan region, usually made on the slow wheel and by hand; it has a globular body, a round base, a short neck and a simple lateral handle [M.Ia] or a lateral handle decorated with an impressed plait pattern [M.Ib] (fig. 4.32/1-2).

The *fu* with handles has an ellipsoid profile (like F.B), round base, two lateral loop handles and the surface is left undecorated or impressed with a cord pattern (fig. 4.32/3). The plait pattern decoration is characteristic of many different places in the region and seems to be a peculiar local feature of the Sichuan region.

4.3.1.1.6 Ding [Dg]

The *ding* is a kind of brazier composed of a globular or ellipsoid body with three feet, two straight or vertical handles and a cover with grips, imitating a more ancient model made in bronze. The type was divided into five classes and five groups (table 4.17). The class Dg.I is characterised by a globular cup with no cover and high feet which can be straight [Dg.Ia] or outward flaring [Dg.Ib] (fig. 4.33/1-2), while class Dg.Ic refers to those with a simple ellipsoid cup and three small feet (fig. 4.33/3).

Table 4.17 Types of DING vessel

class	group	morphological traits	Examples	figure
Dg.I		high feet, no cover		
	Dg.Ia	straight feet	Dayi Wulong 82DWM2:7	4.33/1
	Dg.Ib	outward flaring feet	Pixian Guchengxiang 97PGM14:7	4.33/2
	Dg.Ic	small round feet	Jianwei Jinjing 84JJM6:10	4.33/3
Dg.II		small feet, no cover, outward flaring handles	Pixian Guchengxiang 97PGM14:4	4.34/1
Dg.III		globular/ellipsoid body, cover, side handles		
	Dg.IIIa	small feet, straight handles, round cover	Mianyang 95MSM2:38	4.34/2
	Dg.IIIb	small waving feet, outward flaring handles	Zhongxian 98ZGYBM10:15	4.34/3
	Dg.IIIc	high outward flaring feet, ouward flaring handles	Zhongxian 97ZGYBM9:2	4.351-2
Dg.IV		single handle [*qiaohu*]	Lijiaba 97LJM19:1	4.36

The class Dg.II refers to vessels with an ellipsoid cup, small pointed feet and large outward flaring side handles (fig. 4.34/1). The class Dg.III includes vessels with a globular or ellipsoid body, cover with three loops, and two lateral handles; it is divided into group Dg.IIIa (fig. 4.34/2) referring to those vessels with small feet, straight side

handles and round cover, group Dg.IIIb (fig. 4.34/3) with small waving feet and outward flaring handles, and group Dg.IIIc characterised by higher feet, slightly outward flaring, and outward flaring handles (fig. 4.35). The class Dg.IV, which refers to vessels used to contain and pour water, is characterised by a globular body and one single handle (fig. 4.36).

4.3.1.2 Bowls and dishes

The morphological features of bowls and dishes were described according to the subdivision made by Anna Shepard for close and unrestricted vessels (Shepard 1956: 234-35), complemented by the system adopted in the Museum of London for the classification of "open" vessel forms on the basis of their profile (MP 1998). Bowls are defined as "an open form, with a rim diameter greater than the base diameter and a height of one-third or more of its rim diameter" (MP 1998: 5.1, Webster 1976: 171-78; Orton 1993: 34). They can also be classified by depth into shallow bowls (height between 1/3 and 2/3 of max. diam.), medium (2/3 or equivalent to max diam.) and deep (equal to max diam.). While shallow bowls can be merged with dishes, deep bowls may overlap with jars.

Table 4.18 Cup profiles of bowls

	Profile	Description
1	Hemispherical	Round profile with no discernible base angle. The height is often ½ of the max diameter (MP 1998: 5.1.5]
2	Ellipsoid	The height is less than ½ of the max. diameter. In the case of round base there are no discernbile base angle; in the case of *pan* and *pen* with a flat base the profile results cut at the bottom.
3	Ovaloid [larger lower part]	The ovaloid profile in bowls is obtained by cutting the bottom part of an ovaloid geometric shape with the maximun profile in the lower part of the body. It differs from the ellipsoid as the angle between the base and the walls is wider.
4	Carinated, waved	Defined as "a bowl with a sharp change of angle in the vessel wall, generally at the point of maximum diameter" (MP 1998: 5.1.2]. The carination may be in the upper or lower half of the vessel (ibd.)
5	Flared	Defined as "a bowl with straight sides which turn outwards, forming an obtuse angle with the base, i.e. an inverted` truncated, conical shape" (MP 1998: 5.1.4)
6	Straight-sided	Defined as "a bowl with straight sides which are at an approximate right angle to the base" (MP 1998: 5.1.7)
7	Biconical	Defined as "a bowl whose form resembles two cones joined together at their widest points, forming a carination" (MP 1998: 5.1.1).

The morphological features of bowls and dishes were described in the following tables: *cup profile*, *cup profile/proportions*, and *foot profile/proportions*. The numerical codes corresponding to the different profiles were inserted in the field "profile" of the table "pottery vessels" in the database. They are listed in the above table 4.18.

The cup morphology was also further described with reference to the dimensions as shallow [I], medium [II] and deep [III]. In the case of the drinking vessel *dou* the profile of the foot or stem was also recorded in the field "foot profile" of the "pottery vessel" table. The definitions are listed below (table 4.19).

Table 4.19 Foot profile of DOU vessel.

	Profile	Description
1	tubular rounded	small circular foot of various dimensions, short [A] and high [B]
2	bell-shaped	higher stem of various dimensions, short [A] and high [B]

4.3.1.2.1 Dou [D]

The *dou* is a traditional stemmed vessel composed by a cup and its circular foot. According to the cup and foot dimensions and morphological traits the vessels have been divided into six classes and 13 groups (table 4.20).

The first class [D.A] (fig. 4.37) is characterised by deep cups, with hemispherical or ellipsoid profiles, and a short circular stem; the group D.AI includes cups with a deep hemispherical bowl; the group D.AII vessels having a more shallow cup with an ellipsoid profile; the group D.AIII those with deep cups and nearly straight sided walls.

The second class D.B (fig. 4.38) is characterised by higher stems and generally ovaloid cups; the group D.BI has ovaloid cup and medium-sized feet; the group D.BII has bell-shaped stems and the group D.BIII has more hemispherical cups with an outward flaring rim and bell-shaped stems.

The third class D.C (fig. 4.39) includes drinking vessels with a high stem, which can correspond to more than 2/3 of the total height of the object [D.CI], to less than to 2/3 of its total height [D.CII] or to about half of it [D.CIII].

The fourth class D.D (fig. 4.40) is characterised by large and deep cups, similar to small *guan* or jars, with a restricted mouth and a straight neck, fixed on bowl-shaped

downward turned feet, as in the case of those found in Yingjing Tongxincun [D.Da] or with an open mouth and oblique walls as in the cas eof Chengdu Jinyucun [D.Db].

The fifth class D.E (fig. 4.41) comprises vessels having a bowl-shaped cup with oblique walls fixed on a small circular [D.Ea] or a bowl-shaped [D.Eb] foot, while the class D.F (fig. 4.42) refers to stemmed *dou* with cover.

Table 4.20 Types of DOU vessel

class	group	morphological features	examples	figure
D.A		short stem		
	D.AI	Deep hemispherical bowl	Shifang SFM10:25	4.37/1
	D.AII	Shallow ellipsoid bowl	Shifang SFM66:7	4.37/2
	D.AIII	Deep cup, nearly straight sided walls	Tongxincun 86YTM20:29	4.37/3-4
D.B		medium-size stem		
	D.BI	ovaloid cup	Yingjing Nanluoba 88YLM1:30	4.38/1
	D.BII	deep ovaloid cup, bell-shaped foot	Tongxincun 86YTM10:19	4.38/2-3
	D.BIII	hemispherical cup, flaring rim, bell-shaped foot	Yingjing Nanluoba 88YLM19:5	4.38/4
D.C		high stem		
	D.CI	stem height more than 2/3 of the total	Nanluoba 88YLM9:8	4.39/1-2
	D.CII	stem height less than 2/3 of the total	Shifang SFM49:20	4.39/3
	D.CIII	stem heigh equals to ½ of the total	Lijiaba 97LJM48:4	4.39/4
D.D		large jar-like cup		
	D.Da	restricted aperture, bowl-shaped foot	Yingjing Tongxincun 87YTM1:3	4.40/1-2
	D.Db	open aperture, small foot	Chengdu Jinyucun 92CJM14:9	
D.E		oblique walls, bowl-shaped cup		
	D.Ea	small foot	Yingjing Nanluoba 88YLM9:53	4.41/1
	D.Eb	bowl-shaped foot	Yingjing Nanluoba 88YLM9:48	4.41/2
D.F		stemmed cup with cover	Jianwei Jinjing 77JJM2:23	4.42

The dou vessels have usually small dimensions and strongly characterise some burials as opposed to those with a high number of large storage vessels mentioned above, thus suggesting the existence of possible different funerary customs.

4.3.1.2.2 Zhan [ZH]

The *zhan* is a particular type of cup with oblique walls and a pointed base. Two types were mainly identified (table 4.21) (fig. 4.43). It has been usually found in early layers dating to the end of the Spring and Autumn to the beginning of the Warring States period and thus taken as chronological indicator of an early date. As the dou vessel.

Table 4.21 Types of ZHAN

class	morphological characteristics	examples	figure
ZH.I	pointed base, deep cup	Shifang SFM25:4	4.43/1
ZH.II	pointed base, shallow cup	Shifang SFM25:10	4.43/2

4.3.1.2.3 BO with round [Br] and flat [Bf] base

The *bo* is the general term referring to bowl and includes both round and flat base vessels. On the basis of the cup profile the round-base bowls were divided into two classes and three groups (table 4.22).

Table 4.22 Types of BO with round base

class	group	morphological features	examples	figure
Br.I				
	Br.Ia	Ellipsoid bowl	Shifang SFM14:11	4.47/1
	Br.Ib	Globular bowl	Shifang SFM53:11	4.47/2
	Br.Ic	Ovoidal bowl	Jianwei Wulong 77JWM2:3	4.47/3
Br.II		Carinated cup	Yingjing Tongxincun 85YTM3:6	4.47/4

The class Br.I includes simple bowls with ellipsoid profile and no rim [Br.Ia], globular body and small outward flaring rim [Br.Ib], and ovoid/half-egg shape profile [Br.Ic], while Br.II refers to vessels with a carinated profile (fig. 4.47). The surface is usually without decoration.

The flat-base bowls [Bf] were divided into two main classes on the basis of their rims and into seven groups on the basis of their profiles (table 4.23). The class Bf.I refers to those vessels with no rim, having a carinated [Bf.Ia], a straight-sided [Bf.Ib] or an ellipsoid [Bf.Ic] profile (fig. 4.44); the class Bf.II to those having a rim and a carinated [Bf.IIa], flared [Bf.IIb], ellipsoid [Bf.IIc] or ovaloid [Bf.IId] profile (figs. 4.45-46). The surface is usually left undecorated, except for rare cases where simple incised parallel lines are produced below the rim.

Table 4.23 Types of BO with flat base

class	group	morphological features	examples	figure
Bf.I		no rim		
	Bf.Ia	carinated profile	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM15:11	4.44/1
	Bf.Ib	straight-sided	Yingjing Nanluoba 88YYLM10:43	4.44/2
	Bf.Ic	ovoidal bowl	Dayi Wulong 82DWM4:8	4.44/3
Bf.II		with outward flaring rim		
	Bf.IIa	carinated profile	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM15:4	4.45/1-2
	Bf.IIb	flared profile	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM13:7	4.45/3
	Bf.IIc	ellipsoid profile	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM20:8	4.46/1
	Bf.IId	ovoidal profile	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM22:15	4.46/2

4.3.1.2.4 Pen [Pe]

The *pen* is a kind of basin characterised by a carinated profile and a flat base. They were divided into vessels with a slight carination [Pe.I], a more marked carination [Pe.II] and a slightly biconical profile [Pe.III] (table 4.24).

Table 4.24 Types of PEN

class	morphological features	examples
Pe.I	no rim	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM13:17
Pe.II	carinated profile	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM7:9
Pe.III	straight-sided	Yingjing Nanluoba 88YLM9:44

Other pottery grave goods include various kinds of boxes [Bx] and covers [C.I-V], a *dui* [Du], a kind of egg-shaped box with three feet imitating a bronze model (i.e. Lijiaba 97LJM33:4), an *erhuan* bowl [eH], spoons [Sh], the cooking vessel *li* [Li] composed by a *fu* on three conical feet (Lijiang 97LJM38:4), a high neck vessel [Kv] (i.e. Chengdu Fenghuangshan 58CFM1:10), double handed jars [Gfh] (Yingjing Nanluoba 88YLM3:2) and a flask [Fl]. A set of small figurines or *yong* [pY] was found in the burials of the Western Han period, together with tiles [T], well models [well] and other miniature objects or *mingqi* [MQ]. Another set of objects, limited to the Fuling burials, are small bells, of *bianzhong* [pBz] and *bianji* [pBj] types.

4.3.2 BRONZE WEAPONS

The bronze weapons, mainly found in boat-coffins and simple pit-graves, are one of the most representative classes of grave goods in the area, especially in the case of weapons with refined zoomorphic and pictographic designs which have been often associated to the "Ba-Shu" culture. As already stressed, the definition of "Ba-Shu" culture has to be considered a conventional and comprehensive term referring to the material production of those areas in Sichuan corresponding to the ancient Ba and Shu states recorded in the texts; it can not be taken as a precise definition of certain items.

In this study, the description and classification of bronze weapons was based on their main morphological features (fig. 4.49) which are described in various distinct fields of the table *bronze weapons*. The field *yuan* refers to the blade shape, which is

complemented by attributes describing the blade base [*yuan base*] and the shape of the blade hole [*yuan hole*]. The *nei* is described with reference to its shape and the end side conformation [*nei end*]. The presence or absence of the element *hu* in the dagger-axe *ge* is recorded in the field *hu*, while the presence or absence of the central ridge in daggers *jian* is referred to in the field *ridge*. The field *qiong section* describes the shape of the socket section in spearheads *mao*. The recording codes for the weapons' attributes are summarised in the table 4.25. The *yuan* base can be straight (1) or curved (2) and it can have a hole of different shapes and dimensions (table 4.26).

Table 4.25 Yuan (blade) shapes

		Yuan (blade) shape
1		triangular blade
	1a	three even sides
	1b	triangular slightly elongated
	1c	triangular elongated
	1d	pentagonal blade
2		long and narrow blade
3		long and thick blade
4		ibid. with upper part slightly curved
5		ibid. with upper part slightly convex
6		thick blade with double *hu*
7		*mao*: salix shape blade
8		*mao*: hexagonal blade
9		*mao*: salix leaf shape, blade larger than handle
10		*mao*: arrow-shaped
11		*mao*: pinnacle
12		*mao*: round arrow
11		*mao*: Qin blade

Table 4.26 Yuan (blade) hole

		Hole shape/dimensions
1		round
	1a	small
	1b	large
	1c	concave
2		pearl shaped
	2a	pearl shaped concave
3		lozenge
4		rectangular
5		rectangular with round edges
6		oval

The *ge* socket (*nei*) can be rectangular (*nei* 1), romboidal (*nei* 2) or trapezoidal (*nei* 3), while its end side can be straight (*nei* end 1), convex (*nei* end 2a), concave (*nei* end 2b) or with a double crescent (*nei* end 3). The handle can be simple (*hu* 1) or extend

into a longitudinal component (*hu*), used to fix the weapon to a shaft, which can be straight (*hu* 2) or with an outward end (*hu* 3).

The bronze weapons were divided into six main functional classes (A: *ge*, B: *mao*, C: *jian*, D: *yue*; E: *ji* halberd; ZN: bow element; Zu: arrows) which follow the traditional classification used for the military equipment of other regions in Early China during the Zhou dynasty (XI-III cent. BC) (Zheng 1963: 238-249, Yang 1992); the first four categories were further classified according to the variations in morphological features. The codes are composed of Arab letters, indicating the weapon category, followed by a Roman number and a letter for its class and group. As regard the other three classes, one single occurrence of *ji* halberd has been found in the whole dataset, while the bow elements and the arrows were in such small quantity that they were not included in the correspondence analysis of the chapters 5 and 6.

Other objects composing the military equipment are the *zun* or cone-shaped butt-end of a spear [Zn], the *dui* or sheath of a *mao* spear, the sheath of the dagger-axe *ge* [Sh], bow's mechanism or *gongji* [Bw]

The analysis of the different kinds of bronze weapons used in Sichuan burials is also considered significant for the identification of the social and cultural groups of the region and their mortuary customs. In most of the Chinese studies devoted to the region certain groups of weapons have been associated to specific archaeological cultures and the people they represent. Specifically, the use of zoomorphic motifs on weapons has been related to the so-called Ba-Shu culture, while certain weapon types to the Qin or Chu cultures. In this study, a more refined analysis of the quantity and variety of weapons, their association with other groups of items and grave types used in different sites, burials or periods, will attempt to identify the existence of more specific cultural and social groups and to highlight variations in status and rank.

The use of a standard set of weapons will generally be referred to as evidence of a military or warrior group, whose members share the same funerary customs and military equipment. As in the case of the pottery vessels, the limited quantity and variety of bronze weapons, will generally be taken as evidence of a low or mid-rank burial, while a higher number and variety of weapons will generally be associated to a high rank military officer or to en elite grave. In other contexts the use of sets of weapons associated to elaborated bronze vessels, local or imported, might indicate that the deceased belong to an elite class holding a military but also a political power, which enables them to acquire refined objects and/or to have access to different cultural areas

through war or trade. In this case the exhibition of elaborate sets of items (weapons and vessels) could be interpreted as a means to emphasise the affiliation to a privileged and high-rank group and a way to display power and authority.

The presence of non-local and imported types, usually associated to the Qin and Chu cultures, will also be highlighted; their interpretation will not be limited to the identification of their "cultural origin" but will consider the association with other items in order to better characterise the social groups using them (soldiers, peasants, immigrants).

The types of decoration on weapons were also taken as significant factors for the identification of specific social and cultural groups. For the purpose of my research I tried to identify these variations and the repetitive association of certain classes of motifs. One of the most important classes includes the archaic motifs like the stylised *taotie* and volutes, which seem to be inspired by the motifs adopted in bronze items of the Central Plain during the early Western Zhou period and appear almost exclusively on weapons found in elite tombs of the early and mid Warring States period in the Chengdu Plain. As we have seen in chapter 2, the contacts between the Sichuan region and the Central Plain date back to the end of the Shang dynasty, leading to the acquisition of various items and decorative motifs. Some bronze items maintained their "original" and archaic traits in the Sichuan region through the whole Zhou period while changing into other forms in the Central Plain. The persistence of these motifs on the bronze weapons of some elite Sichuan burials will be considered as a significant factor differentiating elite graves.

Another important decorative class used on weapons includes those zoomorphic motifs (tiger, dragon, bird, etc.) and symbols usually associated to the "Ba-Shu" culture. In this research, I do still interpret such motifs as markers of a local tradition, but I also emphasise the fact that they are not uniformly widespread in all Sichuan burials and that they can be found in different combinations with other sets of decorative motifs or items. For example, the exclusive use of these motifs in some burials belonging to military, mid-rank or elite groups could suggest a stronger sense of group identity and the will of the community's members to emphasise their belonging to a local traditional culture as opposed to imported or foreign customs. On the other hand, the co-existence of zoomorphic and archaic motifs, or zoomorphic motifs and non decorated items in elite burials might suggest other strategies of group definition, for example the need of

displaying wealth through a variety of objects acquired by contacts, trade, war or transmitted through generations.

All these various factors will be addressed through the description of the individual classes of weapons, emphasising those morphological and decorative attributes relevant for the more general discourse on cultural and social identities.

4.3.2.2 Ge [A]

The dagger-axes *ge* were bronze fittings used as hooking tools and horizontally mounted on long ovoid shafts together with the *mao* spearheads. It is composed of three main parts: 1. a triangular or elongated blade (*yuan*), the longest part of the weapon, which has two horizontal sharp edges (*shang ren*, upper; *xia ren*, lower), a sharp point (*feng*), a raised median ridge and sometimes a pearl-shaped hole at its base; 2. a rectangular or romboidal butt (*nei*) placed at the end of the blade, usually with a central hole used to fix the *ge* to the shaft and a straight or three-pointed end; 3. an elongated part (*hu*) extending perpendicularly from the blade and with additional holes used to further fix the *ge* to the shaft; it is sometimes enriched with two ear-shaped projections (*yi*) extending from the base of the blade over the butt on both sides (fig. 4.49:1). The *lan* is a protruding section between the blade and the *nei* (Chen 1997: 56-57). Wooden remains have often been found on the *nei* and *hu*. The type was divided into four classes and twelve groups (table 4.27) (figs. 4.50-63).

The *ge* belonging to the class A.I are characterised by a triangular blade with even sides [A.Ia] (fig. 4.50-52) or a slightly elongated shape [A.Ib] (fig. 4.54), sometimes having a *nei* with a three-pointed end [A.Ib1]. The blade is flat, left undecorated or with *taotie*, volutes, circles and zoomorphic motifs. In the class A.II the *ge* have a pentagonal blade, which is however more rarely seen, and usually decorated with sylised motifs (fig. 4.53).

The *ge* dagger-axe, which is one of the most widely diffused weapons in the Chengdu Plain, shows a high variety of typologies which to construct a chronological sequence from the late Western Zhou period to the end of the Warring States (Feng 1961, Li 1982, Zhang 1987). Their decoration, on the other hand, includes a limited set of motifs, mainly stylised patterns, zoomorphic masks or, in the more elaborate

examples, dragons curled around the hole of the blade and tigers with open mouths corresponding to the same hole.

Although these types of daggers can be found in different kinds of burials, clear variations in the use of decorative motifs can be detected according to the period and the area: a large number of non-decorated items during the Warring States and Qin period, as opposed to examples with archaic motifs clearly limited to the early and mid Warring States period.

Table 4.27 Types of GE weapon

class	group		morphological features	examples	figure
A.I			triangular blade		
	A.Ia		triangular	Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1:111	4.50-52
	A.Ib		triangular elongated	Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1:110	4.54
A.II			pentagonal blade	Chengdu Jinniuqu 80sM1:7	4.53
A.III			blade with protruding *hu* above and below		
	A.IIIa1		thin *hu* and no holes in the blade	Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1:118	4.55
	A.IIIa2		thick *lan* and central hole in the blade	Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1:109	4.56
	A.IIIa3		short blade, with or without hole	Chengdu Zhongyi Xueyuan 80CZM1:10	4.57
	A.IIIa4		short blade, lower *hu* longer than upper	Chengdu Zhongyi Xueyuan 80CZM1:14	4.58
A.IV			*ge* with lower *hu*		
	A.IVa		straight blade, *hu* at right angle with the blade		
		A.IVa1	straight blade, straight *hu* and *lan*	Dayi Wulong 82DWM2:19	4.59
		A.IVa2	straight blade, outward *hu* end	Yingjing Tongxincun 87YTM1:1	4.61
	A.IVb		thinner blade, upper part slightly curved, *hu* not at right angle	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:30	4.60
	A.IVc		thinner blade, upper part slightly convex, thicker blade end	Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1:106	4.62
	A.IVd		elongated and thin blade (Qin style)	Dayi Wulong 84DWM19:2	4.63

The class A.III is characterised by *ge* having the *lan* projecting above and below between the blade and the *nei*. In the group A.IIIa1 the two ends of the *hu* are thin and have a squared profile, while the blade is thin and elongated (fig. 4.55); in group A.IIIa2 the *hu* appear thicker and form a curve with the blade which has a protruding hole in the middle (fig. 4.56). Both groups are left undecorated except for a few examples collected in Pixian, like 80Pzcoll:5, where a long beak bird is depicted. In group A.IIIa3 the blade is shorter than A.IIIa2 and can be produced with or without a central hole; it is usually

decorated with a zoomorphic motif in the centre near the *nei* (fig. 4.57). In the group A.IIIa4 the lower section of the *hu* is longer than the upper one; the base of the blade (*ben*) is often decorated with a stretched dragon (fig. 4.58). The types of the A.III group can all be considered local versions of the long dagger-axe; when decorated with zoomorphic motifs like dragons and tigers, they seem to belong to a local cultural tradition, previously identified as Ba-Shu culture.

The class A.IV includes weapons with a straight and short blade and with the lower edge of the blade extending downward and forming a *hu*. In the group A.IVa1 the *hu* is at a right angle to the blade and is associated with a straight *lan* (fig. 4.59), while in group A.IVa2 the lower end of the *hu* is extended parallel to the *nei* (fig. 4.61); this last group usually presents some of the most elaborated zoomorphic designs. In group A.IVb the blade is thinner with the upper blade slightly concave and the *hu* not at a right angle; the surface is usually left undecorated (fig. 4.60). In group A.IVc the blade is also thinner but the upper blade is slightly convex (fig. 4.62). The *ge* of group A.IVd have a very thin blade and a large angle between blade and *nei* (fig. 4.63).

The weapons A.IVa1 and A.IVa2 have generally been associated to the "Ba-Shu" culture; in this research I do also suggest that they belong to a local regional tradition as opposed to non-local or imported types, especially if considering the large variety of zoomorphic motifs used in class A.IVa2. However, I will also try to test their presence/absence in each period and in each area considered in order to better characterise the social groups involved. The types A.IVc-d are non local types, more often found in the regions of Shaanxi or Hunan, and thus usually related to the Qin or Chu culture. The presence of these types of dagger-axes can certainly be related to the influence of a non-local culture, either brought by groups of soldiers and immigrants from the Shaanxi region, or absorbed through trade or war contacts with Eastern Sichuan and Western Hunan; again, the association with other items can better characterise the social groups using them: elite and high rank military officers, mid and low rank soldiers, possibly transferred for military campaigns, or immigrants devoted to agriculture or more settled activities.

4.3.2.2 Mao [B]

The *mao* is a piercing weapon used as a spearhead and characterised by two main parts: 1. a willow leaf or lozenge shaped blade (*ye*), sharp along two edges, and 2. a

hollow tubular socket (*qiao*, *jing*) which extends through the length of the weapon, wide at the bottom and narrowing towards the top, used to mount the spearhead on a rounded shaft; the socket has usually two lugs on both sides near the mouth, probably meant to fix tassels or ribbons (fig. 4.49:3). The decoration, produced in moulds and probably refined later, is usually applied on both sides and along the edge of the socket; it shows a high occurrence and variety of decorative elements, like elongated, curled or open-mouthed tigers, birds with feathered wings or long beaks, stylised dragons, zoomorphic masks, as well as a set of symbols, such as a hand with a flower blossom, quatrefoils or superimposed lines, which have been interpreted as an archaic script but has not yet been deciphered. The classification proposed here is based on morphological traits and particularly on the proportion between the dimensions of the *ye* and the socket (table 4.28) (figs. 4.64-76). In class B.I the blade and the socket respectively measure half of the total length; in group B.Ia the blade has a salix-leaf shape, roundish [B.Ia1] (figs. 4.64-65) or more angular [B.Ia2] (fig. 4.66), while the socket usually has two lateral handles for ribbons. In group B.Ib the section of the blade is not oval or round shaped but has four pointed angles (fig. 4.75).

In class B.II the socket is shorter than half of the total length of the weapon and the blade has a salix-leaf shape, slightly larger than class B.I. In group B.IIa the blade width is equal or slightly larger than the socket (figs. 4.67-68), while in group B.IIb the blade is larger than the handle and it can have an oval shape or quadrangular shape [B.IIb1] or small dimensions with six holes on the surface [B.IIb2] (figs. 69-70). The group B.IIc is instead characterised by a round leaf-shape blade (fig. 71).

The types B.I and B.IIa-b1 show a large variety of zoomorphic motifs which are characteristic of a local tradition, and usually designated as examples of the "Ba-Shu" culture, but in fact not uniformly widespread in Sichuan burials. As for the dagger axes A.IVa1 and A.IVa2, they seem to have been selected either for burials belonging to a warrior class or for elite graves including a high variety of weapon types.

The remaining classes have different blade shapes: class B.III arrow-shaped, class B.IV small arrow-shaped, class B.V triangular and class B.VI small oval blade with long handles (figs. 4.72, 73, 74, 76). These non-local types, undecorated and limited in quantity, resemble similar types found in the Hunan burials and seem to be related either to a later date, around the end of the Warring States-Qin period, or to funerary contexts possibly belonging to immigrants.

Table. 4.28 Types of MAO weapon

class	group		morphological features	examples	figure
B.I			½ blade- ½ handle		
	B.Ia		salix leaf-shaped blade		
		B.Ia1	blade with oval shape	Shifang SFM1:18	4.64-65
		B.Ia2	blade with geometric shape	Chengdu Jinyucun 86CJM1:6	4.66
	B.Ib		blade with a four-pointed geometric section	Chengdu Yangzishan 53CYM172:69	4.75
B.II			short handle		
	B.IIa		blade width equal or slightly larger than handle	Shifang SFM2:3	4.67-68
	B.IIb		blade larger than handle		
		B.IIb1	oval- shape blade	Shifang SFM1:26	4.69
		B.IIb2	small dimensions with six holes on the blade	Shifang SFM1:16	4.70
	B.IIc		round leaf-shape blade	Chengdu Jinyucun 86CJM1:10	4.71
B.III			arrow-shape blade	Chengdu Longquanyi 92CLM16:8	4.72
B.IV			small arrow-shape blade	Dayi Wulong 82DWM4:2	4.73
B.V			triangular blade	Tongxincun 85YTM3:16	4.74
B.VI			small oval blade, long handle	Tongxincun 86YTM1:1	4.76

4.3.2.3 Jian [C]

The term *jian* refers to a dagger characterised by a double-edged blade and a short hilt (*jing*) with two small holes used to attach a wooden handle or to fix leather and string (fig. 4.49:4). It can measure from an average of 30/40 cm, in most of the Sichuan local examples, to 90/100 cm, in later Qin or Han examples. The sword was decorated with symbols or zoomorphic motifs on the hilts, and only rarely on the blade. The types were divided into three classes and seven groups (table 4.29).

Class I is characterised by weapons with no clear demarcation between handle and blade; the blade is usually large and quite thick (fig. 4.77). Class II includes daggers with a clear demarcation between handle and blade; the blade is flat and even [C.IIa], with a central ridge (*cong*) [C.IIb], or of triangular shape [C.IIc] (fig. 4.78); the latter is particularly interesting since it combines the traits from the previous two and a shape similar to the Qin examples. Class C.III comprises weapons with a right-angle inclination between the handle and the blade base and similar to Qin examples; the blade is usually long [C.IIIa], or is characterised by a guard separating the handle and the blade: the guard can be thick [C.IIIb], narrow and slightly larger than the blade width [C.IIIc], or much larger than the blade's width [C.IIId] (figs. 4.80-82). The types C.I and C.II are characteristic local types, usually decorated with the "tiger-spot" pattern

on the surface of the blade or with smaller and usually stylised motifs near the hilt, and have thus been generally associated to the "Ba-Shu" culture. They are clearly dissimilar from the types C.IIIc and C.IIId, which resemble items found in Hubei and are most likely imported typologies. The classes C.IIIa and C.IIIb can be considered hybrid examples combining local and non-local features. Again, their association with other grave goods will be addressed to identify more specific social groups.

Table 4.29 Types of JIAN

class	group	morphological features	examples	figure
C.I		handle/blade continuous; flat blade	Chengdu Xijiao 73CXM1:34	4.77
C.II		handle/blade with demarcation	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:38	4.78
C.III		handle/blade at right angle		
	C.IIIa	long blade	Shifang SFM54:21	4.79
	C.IIIb	C.II with thick *lan*	Dayi Wulong 84DWM19:6	4.80
	C.IIIc	*lan* between the handle and the blade	Baxian Dongsunba 54BDM49:9	4.81
	C.IIId	long *lan* and narrow handle	84DWM19:5	4.82

4.3.2.4 Yue [D]

The term *yue* refers to a large axe, composed by a rectangular, round or fan-shaped blade and a short hollow butt, with an oval or round section, attached to the blade by the mortise and tenon method; the *yue* was mounted on a wooden shaft and only occasionally shows small designs on the butt.

According to the shape of the blade the axes were divided into six classes and eight groups (table 4.30). Class D.I has a nearly rectangular blade (fig. 4.83); class D.II has blades with a restriction in the middle, convex walls and a round top and includes axes of small [D.IIa] and larger [D.IIb] dimensions (fig. 4.84).

Class D.III is characterised by axes with a round blade and straight walls at its lower end, and comprises weapons of small [D.IIIa] and large [D.IIIb] dimensions (fig. 4.85). Class D.IV includes axes with an outward-flaring round blade and straight walls in the lower section near the socket (fig. 4.86).

The blades in class D.V have a round-disk shape and two small wings at the conjunction with the socket (fig. 4.87); those in class D.VI and D.VII have an open fan shape and no demarcation between blade and socket (figs. 88-89). Finally the type D.VIII has a round shape (fig. 4.90).

Table 4.30 Types of YUE

class	group	morphological features	examples	figure
D.I		rectangular blade	Shifang SFM25:34	4.83
D.II		blade with convex walls and round top end		
	D.IIa	small dimensions	Shifang SFM25:32	4.84/1
	D.IIb	large dimensions	Shifang SFM2:9	4.84/2
D.III		round blade, straight lower end		
	D.IIIa	small dimensions	Shifang SFM51:1	4.85/1
	D.IIIb	large dimensions	Shifang SFM17:3	4.85/2
D.IV		outward flaring round blade	Shifang SFM54:16	4.86
D.V		disk-shape blade	Shifang SFM66:2	4.87
D.VI		open-fan shape	Shifang SFM25:31	4.88
D.VII		like D.VII	Yunyang Lijiaba 97LJM34:9	4.89
D.VIII		round shape	Yunyang Lijiaba 97LJM45:1	4.90

4.3.3 BRONZE VESSELS

The bronze vessels include various types, which have been identified according to the traditional Chinese classification system (table 4.31) (figs. 4.91-103). Some types, like the bowls with flat base [bBf], *fu* [bF], *fuzeng* [FZ], *mou* [bM], *lei* [bLei], *pen* [bPe], *pan* [bPa] and boxes [bBx], show the same morphological traits as the corresponding ones in pottery.

Table 4.31 Types of bronze vessels

type	group	morphological features	Examples	figure
bBf		bowl with flat base	Tongxincun 86YTM20:14	4.92/2
bBx		box	Chengdu Xijiao 73CXM1:9	4.101
bCh		vessel with spout	Xindu Majiaxiang 80XMM1:146	4.102
bD		*dou*	Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1:2	4.99
bDg		*ding*	Xindu Majiaxiang 80XMM1:153	4.98
bDu		*dui* vessel	Mianzhu Qingdao 76MQM1:149	4.97
bF		cooking pot *fu*	Tongxincun 86YTM18:10	4.90/1
bFZ		steamer *fuzeng*	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:68	4.93
bHe		vessel used to warm water for ablutions	Fenghuangshan 53CFM172:49	4.100
bHu		ritual vessel *hu*	Xindu Majiaxiang 80XMM1:146	4.95
bLei		jar *lei*	Xindu Majiaxiang 80XMM1:165	4.96
bLu		*lu (brazier)*	Yangzishan 53CYM172:49	4.103
bM		cooking pot *mou*		
	bM.I	loop-handle	Tongxincun 86YTM24:32	4.91/1
	bM.II	handle	Chengdu Jinyucun 86CJM1:21	4.91/3
	bM.III	double loop-handles	Tongxincun 86YTM24:8	4.91/2
bPa		basin *pan* for ablutions	Longquanyi 92CLM34:82	4.94/2
bPe		basin *pen*	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:12	4.94/1

Other types include the *dui* [bDu], a vessel with three feet and a cover, and the *chi* [bCh], a vessel with a spout used to pour water for ablutions.

The bronze vessels *mou* and *fu* are characteristic of the Sichuan region and were probably of local production; their plait-patterned handle is also a peculiar local morphological feature. They were found in various burials of the Warring States period; pottery examples reproducing the same models are generally limited to late Warring States or Qin graves and seem to be indicators of a late date.

Other vessels like *hu*, *lei*, *dui*, *ding* and *dou*, are closely similar to items unearthed in Hunan and Hubei and associated to the Chu culture; they are usually refined objects and were found in graves of the Chengdu Plain dated from the mid Warring States period and characterised by a high number and a large variety of grave goods, including local bronze vessels. The quantity and refined quality of grave goods and the presence of non-local items will generally be taken as markers of high rank and elite burials (Wason), suggesting the access or acquisition of non-local and highly refined manufactures through trade, contacts or war. These items were most likely exhibited as a way of expressing wealth and a privileged social status.

4.3.4 BRONZE OBJECTS

The bronze objects include various types of daily tools, such as small axes (*fu* and *jin)*, scrapers (*jin*), knives (*xiao* and *dao*), saws (*ju*), chisels (*zao*) and spoons (*shao*).The various types are listed below with their codes and description (table 4.32) (figs. 4.104-106).

Table 4.32 Types of bronze objects

type	code	Description	examples	figure
dao	cD	carving knife	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:3	
D		knife		
	D.I	knife with long blade	Xindu 80XMM1:230	4.105/1
	D.II	knife with with axe-shaped blade	Mianzhu 76MQM1:49	4.105/2
	D.III	knife with short blade	Zhongxian 98ZGYDM11:7	
bFU		axe	Nanluoba 88YLM1:46	
J		small axe *jin*		
	J.I	straight side walls	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:40	4.106/1
	J.II	straight side walls and outward flaring/curved blade	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM20:12	4.106/2
	J.III	straight side walls and fan-shaped blade	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:39	4.106/3
bSh		spoon		
	bSh.I	spoon with straight and long handle	Mianzhu 76MQM1:123	
	bSh.II	large spoon	Fuling 82FHM2:35	
	bSh.III	spoon with bent handle	Lijiaba 97LJM28:2	
bX		scraper/knife *xiao*		
	bX.I	curved blade and loop end	Tongxincun 86YTM17:29	4.104/1

	bX.II	convex blade and straight handle	Mianzhu 76MQM1:39	4.104/2
	bX.III	scraper with straight blade and handle	Tongxincun 86YTM23:28	4.104/3
	bX.IV	curved blade and straight handle	Chengdu 92CHM1:15	4.104/4
bZ		chisel *zao*		
	Z.I	pointed end and a ball-shaped hilt	Shifang SFM55:3	
	Z.II	axe-shaped hollow body	Shifang SFM1:19	

4.3.5 BRONZE ORNAMENTS

The bronze ornaments include personal small items like pendents, bracelets, buttons *kou* and *pao*, belt-hooks (*daigou*), rings, pendents *huang* and mirrors.

Table 4.33 Types of bronze ornaments

type	code	description	examples	figure
dB	dB	small decorative bell	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:43	
DG				
	DG.Ia	oval thin body and curved hook	Xindu 80XMM1:50	4.107/1
	DG.Ib	oval large body and curved hook	Shifang SFM14:25	4.107/2
	DG.II	zoomorphic body and curved hook	Shifang SFM50:22	4.107/3
	DG.III	straight, undecorated	Shifang SFM50:14	4.107/4
	DG.IV	high relief carving	Yangzishan 53CYM172:58	4.107/5
	DG.V	zoomorphic mask	Baxian Dongsunba 54BDM35:7	
	DG.VI	round butterfly-shaped button	Xindu Majia 80XMM1:51	4.107/6
	DG.VII	rectangular plaque	Chengdu Shiyang 81CSM1:19	4.107/7
dP		decorative pendent or ornament	Shifang SFM55:2	
Hg		curved pendent *huang*	Shifang SFM54:20a	
Hn		bracelet	Yingjing Tongxincun 86YTM23:23	
K/Pao		button	Shifang SFM59:17	
Jg		mirror *jing*		

The belt-hooks are characterised by a large variety of shapes and decorative motifs, and are composed of a central body with a button on the back and an upward curved hook, which is usually protruding from the main body as a continuation of the design; plain examples were also excavated. The different decorative items are listed in the table 4.33.

4.3.6 BRONZE SEALS

The seals (*yinzhang*) are an important component of the funerary assemblages of specific areas like Yingjing. They were divided into two main classes respectively referring to the seals with Ba-Shu symbols (SlB) and Han ideograms (SlH); the groups

identified with number and letters define the shape of the surface where the symbols are incised and the morphological characteristics of the upper part where a small grip is usually attached. An overall number of 14 groups were identified (table 4.34).

Whereas the seals are generally associated to the "Ba-Shu" culture, they are not evenly widespread in the Sichuan region but mainly limited to certain specific cemeteries in the Yingjing area during the late Warring States period. Their presence/absence will also be addressed as a significant factor characterising different social and cultural groups.

Table. 4.34 Types of seals

class	group	morphological features	examples	figure
SlB.I		seal *yinzhuang* with Ba-Shu symbols, round		
	SlB.Ia	1-2 mm thick	Tongxincun 86YTM11:5	4.108/1
	SlB.Ib	more than 2 mm thick	Tongxincun 86YTM21a:36	4.108/2
	SlB.Ic	zoomorphic grip	Tongxincun 86YTM25:22	4.108/3
	SlB.Id	high protruding grip	Tongxincun 86YTM17:24	4.108/4
SlB.II		square		
	SlB.IIa	1-2 mm thick	Tongxincun 86YTM25:20	4.108/5
	SlB.IIb	1-2 mm thick	Tongxincun 86YTM7:22	4.108/6
SlB.III		rectangular		
	SlB.IIIa	1-2 mm thick	Tongxincun 86YTM3:2	
	SlB.IIIb	more than 2 mm thick	Baxian 54BDM50:39	
Sl.IV		crescent shape	Tongxincun 86YTM19:33	4.108/7
Sl.V		two half-moon shape	Xindu Majia 80XMM1:47	4.108/8
SlH		seals with Han ideograms only the groups IIa-b-d, IIIb-c-d	Tongxincun 86YTM16:23	4.108/9

Other bronze objects include rare occurrences of stands [bSt] (72QM1:2), lamps [bDe] (53CYM172:5), stove models [bLu] (53CYM172:2), fragments of handles [bHl] (53CYM172:19) and plaques *pushou* to fix loop-handles [Bs], weights [We] (84DWM19:11], combs [Cb] (78FYM3:3) and horse finiments [Hd] (92MSM1:x35). In a few tombs of Fuling Xiaotianxi some bronze bells were also found, like the types *bianzhong* [Bz], *chunyu* [Cy] and *zheng* [Zg].

4.3.7 JADE/GLASS/BONE ORNAMENTS

The ornaments made of jade, glass, bone and gold mainly include pendants, beads and other small decorative items. The types are listed in the table 4.35.

4.3.8 IRON OBJECTS

The iron objects include both iron vessels, like *fu* [iF] and *mou* [iM], and tools like knives *dao* [iD], scrapers *xiao* [iX.I-II], axes *fu* [iFU], sickles *lian* [iLn] The types and attributes are thus similar to those of the bronze vessels and objects. Some weapons are also produced in iron: *mao* [iMAO], halberd [iJi] and *jian* [iJIAN].

Table. 4.35 Types of jade/glass/bone ornaments

type	description	examples
bnBD	bone bead	
gdP	gold pendant	Yangzishan 53CYM172:52
gBd	gold bead	
glBD	glass bead	
jBd	jade bead	Qingchuan 72QM50:17
jBI	jade *bi*	
jGn	jade cylinder *guan*	Jianwei 84JJM5:2
jZ	jade *zao*	Zengjiakou 81YGM12:2
mAn	wooden small table	Luojianian 92CLM26:4
mBx	wooden box	Yingjing Cengjiakou 81YGM12:11
mLiu	wooden comb	Mianyang 92MSM1:91
mO	wooden objects (spoons, swords, etc.)	Yingjing Cengjiakou 82YGM16:16
mY	wooden figurine *yong*	Fenghuangshan 58CFM1:25
sBD	stone bead	Yangzishan 52CYM172:44
sdE	stone decorative element	Yangzishan 53CYM172:88
sSl	stone seal	

The iron objects could in most cases could be taken as chronological indicators of a late date.

4.3.9 LACQUER OBJECTS

Lacquered objects were mainly, but not exclusively, unearthed in *guo* graves, although the conditions of preservation have generally been very poor. They include toilet boxes (*lian*), bowls and plates, usually composed of a wood core on which successive layers of black lacquer were applied; the surface was then painted with red lacquer with scrolls and volutes motifs. In many cases, the coffins in the *guo* graves, as well as in boat-burials and simple pits, were lacquered on the outside. The recorded lacquer goods, wooden and bamboo objects are listed in the table 4.36.

Table. 4.36 Types of lacquer items

code	description	examples
BBx	bamboo box *lian*	Shifang SFM67:11
Bb	bamboo basket *si*	Yingjing Cengjiakou 81YGM12:15
bO	bamboo object	Qingchuan 72QM41:10
bSlip	bamboo slip with inscription	Qingchuan 72QM50:17
mBx	wooden box	Yingjing Zengjiakou 81YGM12:11
mLiu	wooden comb	Mianyang 92MSM1:91
mO	wooden objects (spoons, swords, etc.)	Yingjing Zengjiakou 82YGM16:16
lBx	lacquered box	
lBh	lacquer *bianhu*	Qingchuan 72QM1:10
lChui	lacquer hammer	Mianyang 92MSM1:80
leH	lacquer *erbei* ear-cups	Yingjing Zengjiakou 81YGM12:4
lGn	lacquer cylinder *guan*	Mianyang 95MSM2:922
lPa	lacquer plate (*pan*)	Longquanyi 92CLM17:1 (fig. 4.108/1-2)
lZhi	lacquer wine vessel *zhi*	Qingchuan 72QM26:7
lpJ	lacquered pottery jar	Mianyang 92MSM1:15

The presence/absence of lacquer objects is also a significant factor for the characterisation of burials. Lacquer was particularly used in later graves, from the end of the Warring States to the Han dynasty, often replacing bronze vessels or weapons more widespread in the preceding periods; in many cases can thus be taken as an important chronological indicator.

Variations in the kind of objects made out of lacquer can on the other hand give a more refined picture of the rank and social affiliation of the deceased. Lacquer daily vessels, especially if associated to large quantity of pottery items, iron tools and no bronze weapons, might suggest a mid-rank grave of a member of a settled community, possible based on agricultural activities. In other cases, lacquer luxury objects, locally produced or imported, might refer to the existence of a high-rank or elite group for which the display of such items could display wealth and power.

The style of the vessels and decoration can give further information on the cultural domain characterising the community, through contacts, trade or war, or suggest the presence of immigrants coming from specific regions.

As already stated at the beginning of this chapter, the definition of consistent typological groups for all the items contained in the funerary assemblages was necessary in order to analyse the material at a regional and local scale and to identify similarities and variations within the whole dataset. Some classes of objects have traditionally been used as diagnostic factors to identify the cultural affiliation of the deceased (Ba, Shu, Qin, Chu). Table 4.37 shows a summary of the most important traits already discussed in the various sections of this chapter.

Table 4.37 Cultural attributes referred to Qin, Ba, Shu and Chu

	Qin	Ba	Shu	Chu
Burial types	*guo* rectangular pits	boat coffin rectangular pits	rectangular pits boat coffin	guo
Filling	white clay	n.a.	n.a.	white clay
Pottery	flat base, wheel – thrown pottery, *hu* H.IIIc	round base, cord-pattern *fu-guan-mou-fu*	round base, cord-pattern *fu-guan-mou-fu*; flat base *weng* (Gf C.I-II)	flat base *guan* (E.II-IV), *hu* (Ia, IIa, IId, IIIa), *ding* IIIc
Weapons	Qin types (A.IVc-d, C.IIIc-d)	zoomorphic decoration (A.III3-4, A.IVa1-2, B.Ia1-2, B.IIa, B.IIb1, C.I, C.II)	zoomorphic (as Ba)	Chu types (ge A.IVd, B.IIc, B.V, C.IIIc)
Bronze weapons		*fu*, *mou* + SlB	as Ba	*hu*, *lei*, *dui*, *ding*, *dou*
Seals		SlB	SlB	
Lacquer	Lacquer objects			Lacquer objects

These standard associations will be referred to in the following chapters 5 and 6, where a closer look at the association between various cultural elements and the analysis of other traits characterising the funerary practices will eventually lead to define a more complex picture in terms of cultural and social affiliations.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS I: GRAVE GOOD ASSEMBLAGES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This and the following chapter present the analyses of the whole dataset of burials and grave goods and of a few selected groups aimed on the one hand at identifying the main characteristics and diachronic changes of the funerary practices in the region, and on the other hand at exploring the process of transformation and redefinition of different cultural and social identities during a period of intense political and social pressure. The selection of specific burial types and grave goods and especially the adoption of different combinations in the lay-out and in the assemblages of the tomb have been interpreted in the light of an ongoing process of adjustment of the identity and self-representation of various elite and non-elite groups belonging to diverse cultural contexts. However, as the final purpose of the analysis is not to identify fixed cultural markers which can be associated to distinct peoples or "cultures", but to investigate a process of change in the definition of social groups, the analysis was particularly focused on detecting the diverse combinations of sets of variables over time, their spatial variability and their relationships, and on assessing the significance of these patterns as indicators of social and cultural change. The basic premise is that the selection of specific funerary attributes is not only the result of traditional and socially transmitted practices, but it can be produced, especially in times of stress and political change, to express or to gain a new status and social visibility in a changing society. The adoption of funerary customs may also be transformed over time, acquiring a different value, or losing their original significance without being removed or completely rejected.

5.1.1 Analytical techniques

The data under study mainly consist of counts of grave goods classes/burial types and of presence/absence of specific grave features, such as the kind of soil used

to fill the pit. In some cases it was considerated appropriate to use Excel tables to visually display the data and make calculations like sums and percentages which could give a general idea of the data and their composition. The relationships between sets of variables and burial types were also explored through one kind of multivariate statistical technique, correspondence analysis (CA). This technique calculates the variation in frequency of different types across specific categories given, for example the variation in weapon types assemblages across individual burials or groups of burial types, and it allows one to look for patterning in terms of counts (abundance data) or presence/absence (incidence data) (Shennan 1997: 308). It can particularly help to show any anomalies or outliers in the data and any significant pattern, clustering or seriation which are then to be interpreted in the light of the archaeological context and the proposed research questions. The technique can be used to make comparisons of assemblages from different sites or from different periods, and the results may be related to chronological development, geographical differences and/or a social and cultural differentiation.

Correspondence analysis has been used in a number of different studies concerning pottery chronology and seriation (Bech 1988; Hoilund 1988), comparisons of burial assemblages (Nielsen 1988, Muller 1996), typological or stylistic variations (Engelstad 1988, Gebauer 1988, Larsen 1988), distribution and circulation of artefacts (Larsson 1988, Lockyear 1996), and changes in the environment and availability of resources (Freij 1988, Colledge 2001). These studies have been successful to varying degrees in identifying and interpreting patterns in the data. Furthermore, they all show the importance and potential value of the technique as an explorative tool, which can bring to light significant anomalies or groupings not easily discernible when dealing with a large and varied dataset.

The software used to run CA on the dataset is Canoco (Ter Braak and Smilauer 1998), which was originally designed for the analysis of the relationship between the species composition of ecological communities and their environment (ibid.:31), but which can be easily adjusted to dataset of a different nature (Lockyear 2000a, 2000b). The scattergrams produced are graphically displayed with a related software, Canodraw (Smilauer 1992), which shows in the same plot the relationship between samples/sites (i.e. burial types) and variables/species (i.e. grave goods), and the relative position of each observation with all the others. The visual displays of the results have been

particularly useful as an exploratory tool for understanding the composition of the data and especially to identify anomalous patterns or occurrences.

5.1.2 Research questions

The analysis has been conducted on the whole dataset of burials and grave goods and on a few selected groups as specified in the paragraph 5.1.3 (Datasource); the description and preliminary discussion of the analysis have been divided into different sections which contain the research question to be addressed, the relevant data selected to answer the question, the analysis undertaken, the description of the results and some preliminary observations on the results obtained. The analyses were applied on the dataset referring to the whole region and/or to selected individual sites depending upon their suitability to answer specific research questions. The different groups of analysis were ordered in a structure that goes from general to particular, from a regional to a local scale. Analyses and research questions addressed by this work are summarised below and more amply presented in the paragraphs 5.2 and 6.1-4; the associated graphs, produced in Canodraw, are contained in volume II. The results of the analyses are preliminarily described in each of these sections, while chapter 7 discusses them in relation with the theoretical premises on social and cultural identities introduced in chapter 1 and with their implications for chronological and status-related changes in the use of mortuary goods.

The first analysis (paragraph 5.2, table 5.1) considers all the burials in the region and their grave goods assemblages in order to assess whether there was a change in the mortuary customs over time and in which specific aspect (i.e. types and material of grave goods, burial types). In this section the quantity and types of grave goods are also considered in order to better explore the internal differentiation within burials. These variations are expected to form a picture more articulated than a general cultural patterning (Ba, Shu, etc) and possibly associated to differences in social affiliation and status.

The grave goods are divided into nine categories: pottery, bronze weapons, bronze vessels, bronze objects, bronze ornaments, glass/jade ornaments, seals, iron, and lacquer. They were first displayed in Excel tables divided by geographical region (Chengdu city and Plain, north-Sichuan, south-west Sichuan, south-east Sichuan) (fig.

2.5) and chronological periods (I-IV phase of the Warring States period and I-II of the Western Han dynasty) (paragraph 5.2.1). The Excel tables show the counts of grave goods in the individual burials and the sum of items belonging to a specific class for the area/chronological period considered in the table, followed by the average of each class through the various tables. In the same section, the tables containing the grave goods count for the Chengdu city and the Chengdu Plain were analysed separately in Canoco (paragraph 5.2.2) in order to have a visual display of the grave goods assemblages in this specific area.

Two other groups were also analysed separately but considering all their grave goods types: the Shifang site in the Chengdu Plain and the four sites (Zengjiagou, Tongxincun, Nanluoba, Lietai) of the Yingjing area in south-west Sichuan (paragraph 5.2.2.1-2). These sites were chosen because they have the most complete dataset as regard grave goods types and chronological attribution; they could thus more clearly display general trends and associations in the occurrence of distinct grave good classes and specific material during their different chronological phases.

Table 5.1 Analysis I: burials and grave goods

	Tables	data source	analysis
I	burials + 9 grave good classes	- Sichuan region - sites: Shifang, Yingjing	- Excel: counts/average - CA: association of grave goods

The Excel tables are used to provide a general outline of the major changes in mortuary practices through the variations in the selection and combination of grave goods over time and in different areas. The tables also outline differences within the funerary assemblages of the various periods and areas, specifically in the quantity and variety of grave goods types present in the burials, which will be discussed with reference to changes in social affiliation and rank.

CA is used to determine whether there were a repetitive association between certain classes of grave goods, thus defining the existence of distinct assemblages of material. It is also used to assess the existence of general trends in the use and combination of different classes of grave goods; for example, whether there was a relationship between pottery items, having a potential ritual significance (i.e. cups *dou*), and specific classes of bronze weapons. These factors are also related to the types of burials in order to assess the existence of a relationship between grave goods assemblages and burial types. The results are used to discuss the transformation of the mortuary behaviour as expression of chronological or status-related changes.

The first set of analyses undertaken on all the burials and on their grave goods divided into nine categories is then followed in chapter 6 by a more detailed analysis of the funerary assemblages in relation with the grave types. The analyses II-V (paragraphs 6.1-6.4) respectively looked at the association between burials-pottery vessels, burials-weapons, weapons-decorative motifs and burials-decorative motifs. The attempt is to identify trends and anomalies in mortuary practices, analysing the association and/or lack of association between specific classes of grave goods and burial types. This kind of analysis steps from the need to test the standard associations made by previous studies between certain classes of grave goods/burial types and distinct cultural groups, and to identify and interpret other significant associations. The choice of pottery vessels and bronze weapons as main variables is determined by the substantial number of their different types; pottery is a relevant indicator of technological choices and preferences, often chronologically significant, while the weapons and their decoration show significant variations at a regional and local scale and over time. The choice of running these four sets of analyses on a selected number of classes is also due to the fact that the application of CA on a sample composed by too many variables (e.g. all the grave good types), and often represented by only a limited number of items, made the analysis extremely complicated and not necessarily significant.

The second analysis (paragraph 6.1, table 5.2) is applied on the burials of the whole region and then on the sites of Shifang and Yingjing, but only included the pottery items. The data were analysed in Canoco and displayed with Canodraw graphs.

Table 5.2 Analysis II: burials and pottery types

	Tables	data source	analysis
II	burials + pottery types	- region - sites: Shifang, Yingjing	- CA: chronological seriation - CA: clusters/patterns

Correspondence analysis of pottery classes is often adopted to obtain a seriation for chronological purposes; in this case it is applied to clarify the dating of those individual sites (especially Shifang) for which the dataset is complete and which includes significant chronological indicators such as the *zhan* vessels. Standard associations between cultural groups and pottery types are also tested and the identified patterns in the distribution and assemblages of pottery vessels (i.e. the predominance of small cups instead of large jars or the preference given to more technologically

advanced vessels) are reinterpreted either as caused by chronological changes or from differences in cultural and social affiliation.

The third CA analysis (paragraph 6.2, table 5.3) was undertaken on the same samples as the second one, but considering the burials in association with the weapon types.

Table 5.3 Analysis III: burials and weapon types

	Tables	data source	analysis
III	burials + weapons types	- region - sites: Shifang, Yingjing	- CA: chronological seriation - CA: clusters/patterns

This kind of analysis is similar to the preceding one in its potential for providing seriation at the regional and local level. As in the case of the first analysis the results are compared with the chronological information available in order to check the existing dates and/or suggest, when possible, a different dating. The analysis is also used to test and possible reinterpret the standard association between certain weapon types and distinct cultural groups.

The fourth analysis (paragraph 6.3, table 5.4) is applied on the whole dataset of bronze weapons and decorative motifs using correspondence analysis. The two sets of variables (morphology and decoration), although belonging to the same item (weapon) are kept separated in the database specifically for this and the following analysis (paragraph 6.4).

Table 5.4 Analysis IV: weapons and decorative motifs

	Tables	data source	analysis
4	bronze weapons + decorative motifs	- region	- CA: classification

The results are expected to show the existence over time of repetitive associations between specific classes of weapons and certain groups of decorative motifs, and to not necessarily correspond with the standard cultural affiliations. This analysis is also used to support a typological classification of bronze weapons and to assess whether the use of symbolic motifs is more associated to certain specific classes of bronze weapons.

The fifth analysis (paragraph 6.4, table 5.5) is applied on the complete dataset of burials in association with the weapon decorative motifs.

Table 5.5 Analysis V: burials and decorative motifs

	Tables	data source	analysis
5	burials + decorative motifs	region	CA: patterns

This analysis aims to assess the existence of a significant relationship between burial types and distinct classes of decorative motifs. This evidence, associated to a classification of burials according to their dating, can be used for example to verify the possible increase in the use of symbols and local script during periods of social tension as a means of resistance and differentiation. On the other hand, the analysis can contribute to test the traditional associations of attributes (burials types and decorative motifs) with distinct cultural groups and suggest new associations due to other factors.

5.1.3 Data source

The original dataset includes 462 burials distributed in 47 different localities in the modern region of Sichuan and Chongqing Municipality and dated between the beginning of the Warring States period (mid V cent. BC) to the early phase of the Western Han dynasty (206-118 BC) (figs. 2.5-6). A full summary of the sites is contained in chapter 3. The whole dataset (tot. 6509 objects) contained in the Database include 3357 pottery vessels, 1157 bronze weapons, 470 bronze vessels, 450 bronze objects, 269 bronze ornaments, 147 glass/stone/jade/gold ornaments, 187 iron objects, 348 lacquer/wood objects and vessels, and 124 bronze seals. For analytical purposes it was necessary to refine the data in order to have consistent and complete entries for all the burials and grave goods classes considered in the analysis. A few problems regarding the nature of the data arose for different reasons: in some cases the excavations were not conducted in controlled conditions, while in other cases the material was only partially recorded and published. Furthermore a regional typological classification for pottery and bronze objects does not exist yet and the descriptions, if not complemented with drawings and illustrations, can be quite misleading or insufficient. Due to the difficult access to the material in a few cases, it was not possible to collect the same types of information for all the burials and their grave goods. The analysis was thus necessarily conducted on a selected number of burials and grave goods, deleting all those cases for which it was not possible to have uniform and consistent attributes as specified below.

Those burials for which a complete recording of their grave goods was not available (maps or summary tables not provided) were not included: these include all the burials of Qingchuan (a total of 28 out of 72 is however recorded in the database) except 72QM1 and 23, all the burials in Chengdu Longquanyi (36 were recorded in the database), except for 92CLM16 and 92CLM34, eight graves in Guangyuan Zhaohua (95GZM16, 18-24), one burial in Baxian Dongsunba (54BDM24), the four burials of Emeixian Fuxi (72EFM1-4), the four graves of Sandongqiao (83CSM1-4), seven burials of Yongjing Tongxincun (85YTM1-4 and 87YTM1, 3, 4), one grave in Chengdu Jinyucun (97CJM18), and 23 burials found in Zhongxian (97ZGYBM1-5; 98ZGYBM8, 11, 14-18, 20-22; 99ZGYCM16; 98ZGYDM3-7, 9-10).

The burials which were found empty at the time of the discovery were also deleted; they include six graves in Yunyang Lijiaba (97LJM20, 29, 31, 39, 49, 55), four burials in Zhongxian (97ZGYBM7, 99ZGYCM13 and 99ZGYD16-18), 11 graves in Shifang (SFM12, 19, 28, 29, 42-44, 46, 6, 62, 64), one burial in Yingjing Zengjiagou (81YGM14) and one in Chengdu Jinshaxiang (93CGM3). The grave goods belonging to assemblages of uncertain origin were not considered for the analysis; this group comprises the bronze weapons from Emeixian Fuxixiang (72EF), those collected in Qianwei Jinjing (77JJcoll, 80JJ) and Pixian (80PZcoll), and the weapons collected in Yingjing Tongxincun (87YTcoll).

The sample analysed thus includes: 329 burials and 5932 grave goods, divided into 3053 pottery vessels, 984 bronze weapons, 456 bronze vessels, 441 bronze objects, 252 bronze ornaments, 137 glass/jade/bone/gold ornaments, 176 iron vessels and objects, 315 lacquer vessels and objects, and 118 bronze seals (for the full list see appendix 1). The three burials dated to the Eastern Han dynasty (97PGM9-10 and 99ZGYCM14), although included in the database, were not considered for the analysis.

5.2 ANALYSIS I: GRAVE GOODS ASSEMBLAGES

This analysis looks at the general composition of the funerary assemblages in terms of material (pottery, bronze, lacquer, iron) and function (weapons, vessels, tools, ornaments). From the Warring States period to the Western Han dynasty a general trend characterised by the decrease in the use of bronze weapons and vessels and the increase of pottery vessels can be recognised in most of the burials. In this section this general

trend will be outlined and more specifically refined in terms of geographical area, burial types and classes of objects. The quantity of each category of grave goods is also considered in order to preliminarily outline the internal differentiation within burials. The variations noted at this stage cannot directly be interpreted with the standard cultural affiliations (Ba, Shu, Qin, Chu) since they do not consider specific diagnostic attributes like grave goods types and stylistic motifs but broader categories of material (pottery, weapons, etc.). Variations in the quantity and variety of these groups might instead be indicative of differences in social affiliation and status (elite, commoners, soldiers), and suggest the existence of social groups crosscutting different cultural domains.

The analysis is conducted on the total amount of grave goods, deleting those burials for which a full and controlled record was not available and those graves which were found empty, as specified in the paragraph 5.1.3. A complete list of the burials and their grave goods divided into nine categories (pottery, bronze weapons, bronze objects, bronze ornaments, seals, glass/jade/bone ornaments, and lacquer, iron and coins types) is contained in appendix 1. The overall sample is divided into four main geographical areas (Chengdu city and Plain, north Sichuan, south-west Sichuan, south-east Sichuan) and each section is analysed separately. The Excel tables show the number of grave goods for each burial and the totals; it has to be specified that in many burials of the Warring States period the pottery was not fully preserved and its total number could be much higher than the recorded one. The same problem is encountered for the lacquer vessels, while the number of the preserved iron and bronze objects can generally be considered more consistent with the original one at the time of the deposition.

5.2.1 FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGES

5.2.1.1 Chengdu city and Chengdu Plain

The sample examined here does not include four burials of Shifang (SFM18, SFM26, SFM37, SFM57), one burial from Pixian (66PCM1) and one grave from Chengdu Jinniuqu (93CGM3) for which a generic dating of Warring States period was given and no further chronological evidence could be found from the goods assemblages. The graves 97PGM10 and 97PGM9 were also not considered since they belong to the Eastern Han period.

In the early Warring States period (table 5.6) the burial assemblages were mainly composed of bronze objects with a general predominance of bronze weapons; pottery items usually included the *zhan* vessel, which has been identified as a chronological indicator for this early stage. Iron items were not adopted and the use of lacquer was probably limited to the painting of the external surface of the wooden coffins. No seals have so far been excavated in burials of this early period; ornaments made of different materials like glass, bone or jade also stand for a minor percentage. The burial types include boat coffins and elongated pits with coffins, which can be grouped in a similar category, and only two examples of square (SFM25) and rectangular pits (93CYM1).

Table 5.6 Chengdu Plain. Early Warring States period (V- beg. IV cent. BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
64CBM10	**BC**	**1**	**20**	**7**	**20**						**48**
80CZM1	**ePc**	**5**	**9**	**2**	4						**20**
87CLM1	ePc		8	1	2						11
87CLM2	ePc		3			1					4
93CYM1	rP		5	1	1						7
82DWM4	BC	29	1		1			2		1	34
SFM11	BC	3			1						4
SFM25	**sP**	**19**	**13**		**1**						**33**
SFM30	BC		2								2
SFM56	BC	5									5
SFM69	BC	7	3			2					12
TOT		69	64	11	30	3		2		1	180
AVERAGE		6,27	5,81	1	2,72	0,27		0,18		0,09	

The totals show a differentiation in the quantity of grave goods placed in each burial, and specifically a higher number of bronze items in the graves 64CBM10 and 80CZM1 in Chengdu and SFM25 in Shifang (Chengdu Plain). This evidence may be related on the one hand to a general preference given to bronze items in this early period, on the other hand to the high social status of the deceased, which seems to be also expressed with the larger variety of weapon types contained in these burials: ten (out of 20) in Baihuatan, eight (out of nine) in Zhongyi xueyuan and seven (out of 13) in Shifang. Within the traditional cultural groupings (Ba, Shu) assigned to these burials, other variations, more connected with the number and variety of items, can thus be noticed at this stage and possibly be connected with differences in status. It is also worth noticing that the grave types in 64CBM10 and 80CZM1 are respectively a boat coffin and an elongated pit with coffin, while the grave type in SFM25 is a simple square pit. The quantity and richness of the grave goods are thus not necessarily associated to a particular burial type. In the case of the burial SFM25 the adoption of a square pit for a deceased of high rank clearly marks a differentiation with the other

burials in the site that are all boat coffins; elite groups, despite sharing the adoption of a large number and variety of bronze weapons, did thus not necessarily use the same grave types and adhere to the same mortuary customs.

In the mid Warring States period (table 5.7) bronze and pottery objects still form the majority of the burial assemblages, although bronze items appear more varied with a larger percentage of bronze vessels and objects in addition to weapons.

Table 5.7 Chengdu Plain. Mid Warring States period (end V cent. – pre-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
63CWM1	**eP**	**4**	**19**		**6**	**1**					**30**
73CXM1	**rPc**		**16**	**12**	**4**						**32**
92CJM1	rP	2	5								7
93CGM1	Wa	Frag.	7	1	3						11
94CSM5	eP	1	5	2	4						12
80XMM1	**Gc**	**4**	**115**	**61**	**89**	**4**	**2**	**2**		**2**	**279**
82DWM3	eP	14	5	1	1				1		22
82PDM1	BC	6	2		1						9
82PDM2a	BC	22			1						23
82PDM2b	BC	18			2		1				21
SFM4	BC	8	1								9
SFM5	BC		1		1	1					3
SFM22	rP	17	4	1					1		23
SFM31	BC	2									2
SFM32	BC	1			1						2
SFM35	BC					1					1
SFM55	BC				1	1					2
SFM68	eP	3	1								4
SFM1	**BC**	**2**	**14**	**3**	**6**	**2**		**1**			**28**
SFM2	BC	4	5								9
SFM7	BC	8	7	1	4	1					21
SFM10	**rP**	**11**	**8**	**5**	**4**		**2**				**30**
SFM15	eP	4		1							5
SFM23	BC	3	9	1							13
SFM27	BC	3	3			1					7
SFM33	BC	4	1			4	2	1			12
SFM36	BC	7	1	1	1						10
SFM40	BC	2			1						3
SFM51	rP	4	1	1							6
SFM58	BC	1			1						2
76MQM1	**BC**		**77**	**23**	**52**	**2**					**154**
80PTM1	BC		9		1	1					11
TOT		155	316	114	184	19	7	4	2	2	803
AVERAGE		4,84	9,87	3,56	5,75	0,59	0,21	0,12	0,06	0,06	

As in the previous period, iron and lacquer objects were not found in the burials, while the number of seals and glass ornaments is limited to a small quantity in Shifang (SFM33-10), Xindu Majia (80XMM1) and Pujiang (82PDM2b). The burial types include 20 boat coffins and five elongated pits and a small number of rectangular pits (4), rectangular pits with coffin (1), pits with a wooden platform (1) and *guo* with coffins (1).

In the sample the *guo* with a boat-coffin 80XMM1 (tot. 279) in Xindu, associated to a Shu king influenced by the Chu culture, and the boat coffin 76MQM1 (tot. 156) in Mianzhu, also linked to the Shu culture, clearly stand out for the abundance and richness of the grave goods and the absolute preponderance of bronze items. The grave 76MQM1, dated between the V and the IV century BC (von Falkenhausen 2001: 180) includes a large variety of ritual bronze vessels (*hu*, *fang* and *lei*) and sets of different weapon types: the archaic examples of the Chengdu Plain, the local *mao* and *ge* types with zoomorphic motifs, the *jian* of Chu/Yue tradition, and the *ge* or knives in the north-west style. In the grave all the possible variations of bronze items produced in the area seem to be included, displaying that the deceased most likely had a high rank. In the Xindu grave (80XMM1), dated to the first half of the IV century BC according to the Chinese excavators and to the second half of the same century by Alain Thote (Thote 2001: 215), sets of bronze weapons, objects and vessels of different types were found for a total number of 279 items which however form only a part of the original grave goods. Most of the objects were marked with a symbol, a kind of armor suit, which was also incised as part of a more complex motif on one of the two seals discovered in the tomb. Both tombs seem to belong to a deceased of high rank and to show cultural influences from the Chu culture; the burial types are instead dissimilar: a boat coffin, usually associated to Ba-Shu culture, in Mianzhu and a *guo* burial, traditionally related to Qin and Chu cultures, in Xindu. This evidence seems to suggest that no clear-cut differences in terms of cultural affiliation can be applied in the case of these elite burials.

A high percentage of bronze items was also found in the tombs SFM1 and SFM10 in Shifang and in the graves 63CWM1 and 73CXM1 in Chengdu. These two latter burials share a similar selection of weapon types, mainly having archaic designs and shapes and only a few zoomorphic motifs related to the Ba-Shu culture; elements of Chu culture were also found in burial 73CXM1. The tombs SFM1 and SFM10, on the other hand, do not contain any weapons with archaic motifs but exclusively examples with zoomorphic designs and symbols, again related to the Ba-Shu culture, together with locally produced pottery wares and bronze vessels. This evidence seems to strongly suggest the existence of various elite groups in the area; some more connected with an ancient transmitted tradition (archaic motifs) or exposed to outside cultures like the Chu, others more connected to a local tradition. The use in Shifang of a boat coffin and a rectangular pit for elite burials might also suggest the existence of a mixed elite.

In the late Warring States period (table 5.8) bronze and pottery objects are still the main components of the burial assemblages, with a minor percentage of lacquer and ornaments. Only one bronze seal (SFM54) and one iron object (SFM49) were found in Shifang. The burial types include boat coffins, boat graves with coffins and elongated pits, generally associated to the Ba-Shu culture, mainly in the site of Shifang and Dayi Wulong in the Chengdu Plain, and rectangular pits, wooden platforms, one *guo* with coffins, this last connected with Chu culture, and only one boat grave (92CHM2) in Chengdu city. A difference in burial types is thus clearly visible between Chengdu city, administrative center of the area, and the other sites of the Chengdu Plain.

Table 5.8 Chengdu Plain. Late Warring States period (post-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC – 250 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
53CYM172	**Gc**	**16**	**26**	**24**	**1**	**16**	**2**	**18**	**2**	**11**	**116**
80sM2	rP	10		1							11
86CJM1	**rP**	**2**	**12**	**2**	**7**	**10**					**33**
92CHM1	rP	6	3	1	3	2				3	18
92CHM2	BC	10								1	11
92CJM14	**Wa**	**21**	**7**	**2**						**1**	**31**
92CJM7	rP	6			1						7
93CGM2	**Wa**	**5**	**3**	**8**	**5**	**9**					**30**
94CSM9	rP	3	1								4
SFM3	BC	1	1		1	1		3			7
SFM14	**BC**	**13**	**8**		**1**	**1**		**1**			**24**
SFM16	eP	6	4	2							12
SFM17	eP	4	1								5
SFM52	**eP**	**11**	**6**	**3**							**20**
SFM54	eP	16	3	2	1	9	1				32
82DWM1	ePc	2	3		1						6
82DWM2	**ePc**	**9**	**12**	**2**	**1**	**2**		**11**			**37**
SFM38	**eP**	**17**	**12**	**2**	**2**						**33**
SFM39	eP	4	1								5
SFM41	BC	6									6
SFM45	BC	1	3								4
SFM48	eP	3									3
SFM49	**eP**	**22**	**9**			**2**			**1**		**34**
SFM63	BC	1	2								3
TOT		195	117	49	24	52	3	33	3	16	492
AVERAGE		8,12	4,87	2,04	1	2,17	0,12	1,37	0,13	0,67	

The grave 53CYM172 in Chengdu Yangzishan contains the largest quantity of bronze weapons and vessels and a considerable number of jade ornaments. The bronze vessels mostly retain elaborate shapes and decoration similar to the Chu tradition, as the weapons which are mainly left undecorated. The abundance and richness of the bronze vessels of this grave is quite exceptional, as it is its grave type, a *guo* with an internal coffin. The other Chengdu graves with a relatively high number of bronze items show instead a prevalence of weapons with zoomorphic motifs, traditionally connected to the Ba-Shu culture, and a widespread use of locally produced vessels. Clear examples are

the graves 86CJM1 and 92CJM14, while the grave 93CGM2 combines non decorated weapons with locally produced vessels with simple decorations. This evidence suggests the existence of elite and high rank groups with different mortuary customs in the same Chengdu city. Furthermore, the burial 53CYM172 seems on the one hand to be strongly connected with the Xindu and Mianzhu graves of the preceding period, on the other hand to mark a clear differentiation since it does not include, as the other two, any examples of weapon in the local "Ba-Shu" tradition.

The graves in Shifang (SFM14, 52, 38, 49) are instead characterised by weapons with zoomorphic designs and locally produced bronze vessels, again supporting the hypothesis of the existence of an elite mantaining its local identity. The burial in Dayi (82DWM2) contains on the other hand a combination of imported motifs and shapes (the Chu-type *jian* and the archaic designs with volutes on the *ge*) with locally produced pottery and weapons.

The Qin phase, usually considered as the end of the Warring States period, cannot be easily divided from the preceding section, since the definition of "Qin period" can include both the phase of the Qin occupation of the region (around 316 BC) and the period of the Qin dynasty (221-206 BC). The mortuary assemblages attributed to this period (table 5.9) show a clear decrease in the use of bronze weapons and vessels if compared with the mid Warring States period and a corresponding increase of pottery vessels, iron, lacquer objects and bronze seals. The burials include rectangular pits and *guo* encasements, showing a marked difference in the choice of the grave type and in the general composition of the mortuary items.

Table 5.9 Chengdu Plain. End of Warring States period – Qin dynasty (ar. 250-206 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
80sM1	rP	0	**9**	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	12
92CLM34	G	12	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	3	22
SFM50	G	14	6	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	25
SFM61	rP	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
SFM65	sP	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
SFM20	rP	10	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	12
SFM24	rP	13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
SFM59	rP	11	2	0	0	7	0	1	1	0	22
84DWM18	rPc	19	3	1	0	2	1	0	3	0	29
84DWM19	**rP**	**22**	**9**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**42**
TOT		117	34	8	3	17	2	1	12	3	197
AVERAGE		11,7	3,4	0,8	0,3	1,7	0,2	0,1	1,2	0,3	

The burial 84DWM19 in Dayi contains a larger number of bronze weapons but they are all undecorated and belonging to the Qin or Chu traditions; the seal in the same

tomb is incised with ideograms and not with local symbols. The grave 80sM1, although containing similar types, still displays a few weapon types with zoomorphic designs. In Shifang the weapon decoration still maintains the zoomorphic motifs of the preceding periods, thus suggesting a relative continuity of a local tradition in the area.

In the early Western Han period (table 5.10) the mortuary assemblages are mainly composed of pottery items and a small percentage of bronze objects and vessels; bronze weapons are not the main component of the grave goods and they appear in a consistent quantity only in a burial of Guangrongxiaoqu (92CGM5). The burial types include *guo* encasements and rectangular pits with wooden platforms, but no boat coffins. The grave 92CGM5 stand out for the quantity of items, mainly bronze weapons decorated with zoomorphic motifs of local tradition which suggest the possible high rank of the deceased. In all the other burials there is a clear decrease in the use of bronze weapons which are limited to undecorated *yue*, arrow-shaped *mao* or *jian* with small symbols.

Table 5.10 Chengdu. Early Western Han period (206BC – pre-118 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
81CSM1	Gc	18				1			1		20
83CFM1	Gc	11				1			3	35	50
92CGM5	**Wa**	**5**	**40**	**1**	**10**	**2**		**5**		**3**	**66**
92CLM16	G	13	2						2	10	27
78MQM1	Wa	15	1		1		1		2		20
78MQM2	Wa	21	1	2	2	2					28
SFM21	rP	9	1						4		14
SFM60	G	5									5
SFM66	G	12	5							1	18
SFM67	G	15	1						1	8	25
TOT		124	51	3	11	6	1	5	13	57	273
AVERAGE		12,4	5,1	0,3	1,3	0,6	0,1	0,5	1,3	5,7	

Table 5.11 Pixian and Shifang. Late Western Han period (post 118 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
SFM53	sP	6							1		7
97PGM11	rP	17	2								19
97PGM14	rP	16									16
97PGM15	rP	27							1		28
97PGM16	rP	3									3
97PGM17	rP	3									3
97PGM18	rP	7									7
97PGM21	rP	13	1			1					15
97PGM22	rP	20									20
97PGM23	rP	3									3
97PGM6	rP	11									11
97PGM7	rP	16	1								17
97PGM8	rP	4									4
TOT		146	4			1			2		153
AVERAGE		11,23	0,30			0,08			0,15		11,76

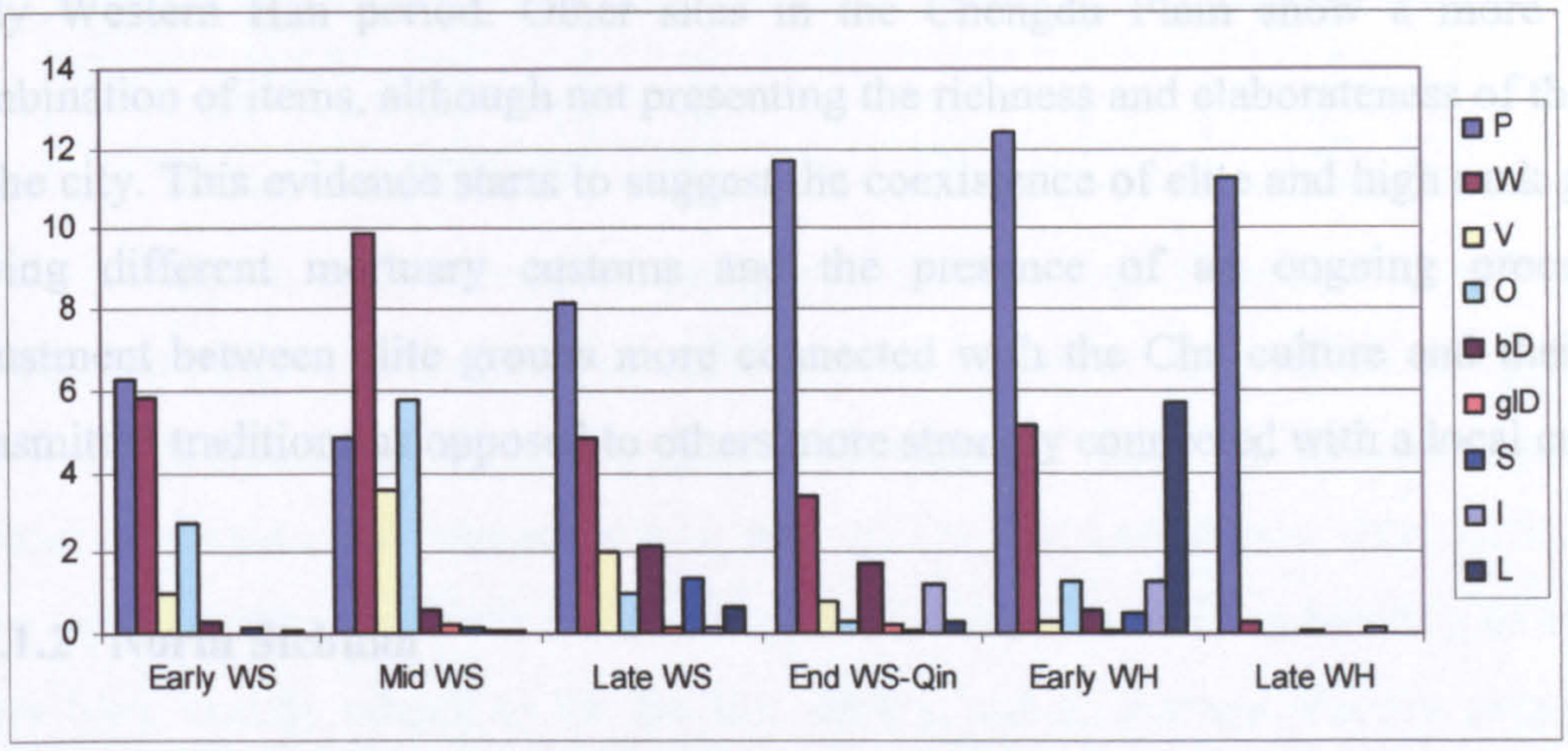
Table 5.12 Late Western Han period (post 118 BC) – Chengdu Fenghuangshan

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacquer	TOT
58CFM1	G	30				3	1			59	93

In the late Western Han period (tables 5.11-12) bronze items were rarely used and pottery vessels constituted the larger part of the assemblage together with lacquer items. The lacquer objects, as luxury products, seem to substitute bronze weapons as a symbol of status and their presence can very likely be associated to an individual of high rank. The burial types include rectangular pits, together with one *guo* encasement and one square pit.

The grave 58CFM1 in Fenghuangshan can be considered a clear example of Western Han period for its large quantity of pottery and wooden items (the figurines *yong*); the burial was however robbed at an early time and the dataset is not complete.

Table 5.13 Average of grave goods classes in Chengdu and Chengdu Plain over time



	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L
Early WS	6,27	5,81	1	2,72	0,27	0	0,18	0	0,09
Mid WS	4,84	9,87	3,56	5,75	0,59	0,21	0,12	0,06	0,06
Late WS	8,12	4,87	2,04	1	2,17	0,12	1,37	0,13	0,67
End WS-Qin	11,7	3,4	0,8	0,3	1,7	0,2	0,1	1,2	0,3
Early WH	12,4	5,1	0,3	1,3	0,6	0,1	0,5	1,3	5,7
Late WH	11,23	0,30			0,08			0,15	

The average number of each grave good class in each period (table 5.13) shows a general trend over time, characterised by the large use of bronze items in an earlier period and the gradual preference given to pottery and iron objects at a later stage; the bronze seals are only partially used in the late Warring States period. However, an internal differentiation in each period and among sites can be recognised as regard the

quantity and variety of types selected and the choice of the specific grave type. Such variations in funerary assemblages do not correspond to the traditionally recognised cultural affiliations, despite the burials might belong to the same period or geographical area, but suggest the existence of an internal differentiation more likely connected to social affiliation and rank. Within the Chengdu city major differences are detectable during the early and mid Warring States period between a few graves containing elaborate ritual vessels (associated to Chu) and weapons with archaic motifs (associated to a transmitted culture inspired by the Chengdu Plain) and other burials (mainly boat coffins and elongated pits) characterised by a prevalence of weapons with zoomorphic designs and locally produced vessels (usually connected with Ba-Shu culture). This differentiation, already present within the Chengdu area, is particularly striking between the city and the site of Shifang, where the burials all tend to contain weapons with a variety of zoomorphic motifs and locally produced pottery and bronze vessels until the early Western Han period. Other sites in the Chengdu Plain show a more varied combination of items, although not presenting the richness and elaborateness of the ones in the city. This evidence starts to suggest the coexistence of elite and high rank groups having different mortuary customs and the presence of an ongoing process of adjustment between elite groups more connected with the Chu culture and their own transmitted traditions as opposed to others more strongly connected with a local culture.

5.2.1.2 North Sichuan

North Sichuan burials selected for the analysis only include the graves from Guangyuan Baolunyuan Zhaohua, excavated in 1954 and one from the 1995 campaign, a few burials from Qingchuan and three graves from Mianyang. They were mainly dated to the late Warring States period (Zhaohua and Qingchuan) and to the Western Han dynasty (Mianyang); it was thus not possible to draw a comparison with earlier periods to identify a general long-term trend for the area.

The burial assemblages of the late Warring States period (table 5.14) are mainly composed by pottery vessels (average in percentage: 67%) and by a more limited amount of bronze items (18%); only one bronze seal and two iron objects were found within the sample, while lacquer items were more commonly used in Qingchuan (13%). The lack of bronze seals can be considered a significant element marking a clear difference from the burials in south-west Sichuan and from those of Baxian Dongsunba

in south-east Sichuan (paragraphs 5.2.1.3/5.2.1.4). The burial types include *guo* encasements, rectangular pits and boat graves with coffins.

Table 5.14 North Sichuan. Late Warring States period (post-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC – 250 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
54GZM1	BC	16	2	1							19
54GZM10	eP	19	5	2					1		27
54GZM11	BCc	12	1		2					1	16
54GZM12	BCc	5	1							1	7
54GZM13	Gc	15	6	4	1					4	30
54GZM14	BCc	12	4	2	1	1				5	25
54GZM15	BCc	16	3	1							20
54GZM2	eP	8									8
54GZM3	BCc	11	2	3		2					18
54GZM4	rPc	10									10
54GZM5	BC	15		1							16
54GZM6	BCc	8		1	1		1				11
54GZM7	rP	8							1		9
54GZM8	BC	9									9
54GZM9	eP	9									9
72QM50	Gc	2								5	7
72QM1	Gc	2		2		1				22	27
72QM23	Gc	7								3	10
95GZM17	BCc	23	4	2							29
TOT		207	28	19	5	4	1		2	41	307
AVERAGE		67%	9%	6%	2%	1%	0%		1%	13%	

A major difference between the sites of Zhaohua and Qingchuan is visible in the burial types adopted: only *guo* with coffins, associated to the Qin culture, in Qingchuan and a larger variety of different types in Guangyuan Zhaohua, including *guo* with coffins, rectangular and elongated pits, boat coffins and boat graves with coffins. This latter are a peculiar variation of the *guo* type resulting from the combination of the boat grave type, usually related to the Ba-Shu culture, and an internal wooden encasement like in the *guo* structures. Despite the vicinity of the two sites the choice of grave types is clearly dissimilar.

As regard the grave goods, the three burials in Qingchuan do not contain any weapons and one of them (72QM1) has a large quantity of lacquer items and only one bronze vessel. The funerary assemblages in Zhaohua comprise instead bronze weapons, generally decorated with sparse symbolic motifs, bronze vessels and objects in sets very similar to those found in Baxian Dongsunba in south-east Sichuan (paragraph 5.2.1.4), except for the lack of bronze seals. A major difference within the site is between graves containing weapons (54GZM1, 3, 10-15; 95GZM17) and those having only pottery and bronze vessels (54GZM2, 4-9); no graves with a much higher number of items were

instead found in the site[1]. This evidence seems to suggest that no clear-cut cultural boundaries can be applied to the two sites, while their characteristics and differences in burial types and grave goods might be related to the social composition of the communities. Both sites do not show a strong differentiation in the number of grave goods within each burial, thus suggesting the lack of a clearly recognisable elite group; grave goods and burial types instead vary markedly. The site of Qingchuan suggests the presence of a settled community, not necessarily involved in military activities and clearly influenced by the Qin culture; it can be very likely seen as a community of immigrants from the Central Plain. The site of Guangyuan seems to have a much clearer military character, possibly with an internal differentiation due to gender or undertaken activities (bronze vessels+pottery opposed to weapons). In both case the cultural domains affecting the sites (Qin, Ba-Shu) cannot fully explain their characteristics and differences, but are clearly crosscut by more articulated variations in social affiliation and in the nature of the communities.

The only two burials of the late Western Han dynasty in north Sichuan (fig. 5.15) appear very different from the ones of the preceding periods. They are characterised by complex *guo* encasements and a large quantity of pottery, lacquer and wooden items, mainly figurines and vessels, and by iron objects.

Table 5.15 Late Western Han period (post 118 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
92MSM1	Gc	280			1	10		1	13	26	331
95MSM2	Gc	300	3	3		1	1	9	20	597	934
TOT		580	3	3	1	11	1	10	33	623	1265

This set of grave goods clearly stands isolated if compared with the graves found so far in the same area. A similar example, also dated to the late Western Han dynasty, is the *guo* burial 58CFM1 in Fenghuangshan (Chengdu).

5.2.1.3 South-west Sichuan

The most important sites in south-west Sichuan are concentrated in the districts of Yingjing and Qianwei; the differences between the clusters of burials are particularly significant and can be considered good indicators of social and cultural differences in the area as opposed to the traditionally recognised differences in cultural affiliation.

[1] The difference between the two sites has also been noted by Thote (2001: 212).

The burials of the mid Warring States period (table 5.16) in the sites of Nanluoba (88YL), Tongxincun (87YTM2) and Zengjiagou (83YGM21) near Yingjing mainly contained pottery vessels and a much smaller quantity of bronze weapons; no iron objects were found and only burial 83YGM21 had lacquer objects. The burials are all rectangular pits, in one case with remains of a coffin (88YLM11), except for grave 83YGM21 which is a wooden encasement *guo* with coffin, similar to those of the Chu culture. The two examples of seals were only found in this last burial and in grave 88YLM9.

Table 5.16 South-west Sichuan. Mid Warring States period (end V cent. – pre-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
87YTM2	rP	13	4		1						18
88YLM1	**rP**	**52**	**11**	**6**	**4**			**2**			**75**
88YLM10	**eP**	**37**	**4**	**2**	**1**			**6**			**50**
88YLM11	ePc	34		3		4					41
88YLM2	rP	8	1								9
88YLM3	rP	20				1					21
88YLM4	rP	8			1	2					11
88YLM5	rP	22					1	1			24
88YLM6	rP	19									19
88YLM7	rP	25									25
88YLM8	rP	4				1		4			9
88YLM9	**rP**	**43**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**5**	**1**				**55**
83YGM21	Gc	5				1	1			15	22
TOT		290	21	13	10	14	3	13		15	379
AVERAGE		77%	6%	3%	3%	4%	1%	4%	0%	4%	

The burials 88YLM1/9/10 in Nanluoba contain the largest number of items and, together with the grave 88YLM2, the only examples of bronze weapons, all with zoomorphic designs; these items were found together locally produced bronze and pottery vessels like the nearby site of Tongxincun. The characteristics of these burials suggest the existence of a distinct social group, possibly the local elite, differentiating itself in the adoption of bronze weapons as part of the grave goods. The other burials could instead be related either to groups not directly connected with military activities, or eventually women. The dating to the mid Warring States period can probably be slightly deferred to the late phase, to which the following section refers.

All the burials dated to the late Warring States period (table 5.17) mainly include pottery vessels and a smaller quantity of bronze objects and vessels which are concentrated in a few graves. Bronze seals were found in nearly all the burials in Tongxincun, both rectangular pits and boat coffins, and in a number much higher than that in Chengdu city and in the Chengdu Plain; the adoption of the seals seems to be a

clear element of differentiation for the Yingjing area, not only connected with the late period of the graves but most probably with the nature and social composition of the community.

Table 5.17 South-west Sichuan. Late Warring States period (post-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC – 250 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
77JJM1	rP	12	3								15
77JJM2	rP	33									33
77JJM3	rP	9									9
77JJM4	rP	8									8
77JWM1	rP		1		2		1			1	5
77JWM2	rP	8					1	2			11
77JWM4	rP	4									4
77JWM6	rP	2	2	1	1						6
77JWM7	rP	5			3			2			10
80JJM1	rP	6	7	5	3		3				24
81YGM11	rPc	2								2	4
81YGM12	Gc	2						1		11	14
81YGM13	Gc	3							1		4
82YGM15	Gc	1									1
82YGM16	Gc	4					1			11	16
84JJM5	sP	13	5		3			1			22
84JJM6	rP	18	2	7	2		4				33
85YTM5	rP	15	3								18
86YTM1	rP	1	5	4		1	1				12
86YTM10	BC	22		3		1			1	1	28
86YTM11	eP	14				1	1				16
86YTM12	eP	13							1		14
86YTM13	BC	14	1			1			3	1	20
86YTM14	BC	9		1					1		11
86YTM15	eP	9							1		10
86YTM16	**BC**	**23**	**4**	**3**		**1**	**4 (1 H)**		**3**		**38**
86YTM17	BC	29		3	2	2	5	1			42
86YTM18	**BC**	**28**	**1**	**3**		**2**	**7 (1 H)**		**1**	**1**	**43**
86YTM19	**BC**	**26**	**6**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**2**		**1**		**42**
86YTM2	rP	2									2
86YTM20	**BC**	**26**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**7**	**1**	**1**		**46**
86YTM21a	**BC**	**30**	**13**	**11**	**6**	**5**	**4**		**1**	**1**	**71**
86YTM21b	**BC**	**27**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**5**	**3**			**44**
86YTM22	BC	11	2	2	1		2				18
86YTM23	**BC**	**28**	**1**	**6**	**2**	**3**	**3**				**43**
86YTM24	**BC**	**34**	**8**	**3**	**1**		**4**				**50**
86YTM25	BC	32		1	1	1	4		1	1	41
86YTM3	rP					1	2	1			4
86YTM4	BC	17							1		18
86YTM5	eP	14							1		15
86YTM6	**BC**	**23**	**1**	**1**		**2**	**5 (1 H)**		**2**	**2**	**36**
86YTM7	BC	12	3	2		2	1		2		22
86YTM8	eP	12							3		15
86YTM9	BC	9	4	2		2			1	4	22
TOT		610	77	67	32	32	67	11	26	36	958
AVERAGE		64%	8%	6%	3%	3%	7%	1%	3%	4%	

Iron objects were also found in a few graves of Tongxincun, while a distinctive combination of pottery and lacquer objects was found in Zengjiagou. The burial types

include boat coffins, all in Tongxincun, rectangular pits, mainly in Qianwei Jinjing and a few in Tongxincun, and *guo* wooden encasements in Zengjiagou. Grave 81YJM1 was given a generic date of Warring States and was thus not included in the analysis.

A number of clear differences can be outlined for the sites in south-west Sichuan. The burials in Qianwei Jinjing and Wulong are all rectangular pits mainly with a very limited number of weapons and locally produced pottery and bronze vessels; the only exception is the burial 80JJM1 which contains a relatively high number of bronze weapons, vessels and objects, all of local manufacture. The graves 84JJM5-6, although having a similar proportion of artefacts as 80JJM1 have a different grave lay-out and a slightly different selection of weapons and vessels. The cluster of graves in Zengjiagou are instead all *guo* with coffins containing only pottery and lacquer items; they clearly belong to a different cultural and social context, closer to the cultures of Qin and Chu, where the use of *guo* and lacquer objects is well attested. The site of Tongxincun includes a total of 27 graves, mainly boat coffins and elongated pits, and with different assemblages of items. The burial 86YTM21a has the highest number of goods (tot. 71), including bronze weapons with zoomorphic designs, vessels, objects and seals. The graves 86YTM6/16/18/19/20/21b/23/24 have also a relatively high number of objects and they all contain weapons, like the smaller graves 86YTM1/7/9/13/22. All the burials with weapons are boat coffins, except for 86YTM1 and 85YTM5 which are rectangular pits. The presence of seals is generally, but not exclusively, related with weapons and/or boat coffins. The funerary assemblages in Tongxincun thus show a distinct characters, especially for the association of boat coffins, certain classes of weapons and seals, which might suggest the existence of high rank groups of possibly connected with the local administration. Their specific identity is emphasised by the use of boat coffin, weapons, seals and a large quantity of objects, and opposed to the *guo* and lacquer items of the Zengjiakou burials.

Table 5.18 South-west Sichuan. Early Western Han period (206 BC – pre-118 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
77JWM3	rP	13		1					2		16
77JWM5	rP	3	1		2		3	1		1	11
		16	1	1	2		3	1	2	1	27

The only two graves dated to the Western Han period in south-west Sichuan (table 5.18) mainly have pottery vessels and only a few bronze objects. In the grave 77JWM3 two iron objects were also found.

5.2.1.4 South-east Sichuan

The sites in south-east Sichuan show a quite high degree of diversity as regard the grave good assemblages and their dating is still under debate. A provisional chronology was given to the cemetery in Yunyang Lijiaba, while 65 graves in Baxian Dongsunba, four burials in Fuxi (80FXM4-7) and a group of graves in Zhongxian were generically dated to the Warring States period. The burial 99ZGYBM10 was given no date. The available evidence from the site of Yunyang Lijiaba does not show a clear trend from the use of bronze objects to the adoption of pottery vessels in the funerary assemblages. The four graves dated to the early Warring States period (97LJM19-38-42-48, see chapter 3) only contain pottery vessels and no other items, and so far no other graves in south-east Sichuan were dated to this early date, thus offering a possible comparison.

Many of the graves in Lijiaba dated to the mid Warring States period (table 5.19) mainly contain pottery vessels (54%) and bronze weapons (27%), while no seals and only one bronze object (97LJM53) were found. The burial types include rectangular pits and *guo* encasements. The assemblages are composed by a small quantity of items, except for 97LJM23 and 97LJM43 which contain a slightly higher number of objects.

Table 5.19 Lijiaba. Mid Warring States period (end V cent. – pre-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC)

burial	type	pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
97LJM15	G		2		1						3
97LJM13	rP	3									3
97LJM14	rP	2									2
97LJM17	G	4		2							6
97LJM18	rP	2									2
97LJM23	**rPc**	**3**	**10**			**1**		1			**15**
97LJM24	G	4	3								7
97LJM25	rP	3		2							5
97LJM26	rP	3		1	1						5
97LJM28	rP	3	3	1	1						8
97LJM30	rP	2									2
97LJM32	G	4	3								7
97LJM33	Gc	6		1	1						8
97LJM35	rP	2									2
97LJM36	Gc									2	2
97LJM40	G	1	1								2
97LJM41	rP	7	2								9
97LJM43	**G**	**8**	**4**	**1**	**1**						**14**
97LJM50	rP	4									4
97LJM51	G	2	2	1							5
97LJM52	rP				1	1		1			3
97LJM53	G	3	3	1	1				1		9
97LJM54	G	5	3		1						9
TOT		71	36	10	8	2	0	2	1	2	132
AVERAGE		54%	27%	8%	6%	2%	0%	2%	1%	2%	

In the same area the tomb 72FXM1 in Fuxing (table 5.20) contains a very large variety of bronze weapons, objects and vessels (tot. 90) which might suggest a different social affiliation of the deceased.

Table 5.20 Fuling. Mid Warring States period (end V cent. – pre-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
72FXM1	rP	frag.	24	14	17	14	21			frag.	90

In the late Warring States period (table 5.21) the burials in Lijiaba show a similar composition: pottery vessels (54%) and bronze weapons (25%) or objects (11%), and only one grave with glass beads. No bronze seals were found in this period, thus marking a radical difference both from the burials in Yingjing in south-west Sichuan, where bronze seals are a significant component of all the mortuary assemblages of this period, and from the graves in Baxian Dongsunba in south-east Sichuan which also include a large amount of seals.

Table 5.21 Lijiaba. Late Warring States period (post-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC – 250 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
97LJM16	rP	3									3
97LJM21	rP	1									1
97LJM22	rP							2			2
97LJM27	G	3	1						1		5
97LJM34	rPc	5	3		1						9
97LJM45	Gc	1	3		2						6
97LJM46	rP	2									2
TOT		15	7	0	3	0	0	2	1	0	28
AVERAGE		54%	25%	0%	11%	0%	0%	7%	4%	0%	

The graves in Fuling Xiaotianxi (table 5.22) show instead a higher percentage of bronze weapons, vessels and personal ornaments; however, no bronze seals were found.

Table 5.22 Fuling. Late Warring States period (post-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC – 250 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
93FXM9	rPc	4	23	5	15			4			51
72FXM2	rPc	4	4	6	8	1		4			28
72FXM3	rPc	3	29	7	8	1		1		1	50
TOT		11	56	18	31	2	0	9	0	1	129
AVERAGE		10%	31%	17%	29%	2%	0%	8%	0%	1%	

The burials in Zhongxian (table 5.23) have a similar general composition of those of Yunyang Lijiaba in the same period: a predominance of pottery vessels (78%) and a very limited quantity of bronze items. Only one iron object was found.

Table 5.23 Zhongxian. Late Warring States period (post-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC – 250 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
98ZGYBM19	rP	3									3
99ZGYBM23	G	3	1								4
99ZGYCM2	Gc	4									4
99ZGYCM3	Gc	5				6					11
99ZGYCM4	rPc	2									2
99ZGYCM5	rPc	3				1			1		5
99ZGYCM17	G	1									1
99ZGYCM15	rP					1					1
99ZGYCM8	Gc	5									5
99ZGYCM9	Gc	4									4
TOT		30	1	0	0	8	0	0	1	0	40
AVERAGE		75%	3%	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	3%	0%	

The burials in Baxian Dongsunba (table 5.24), which were roughly dated to the Warring States period and most probably to its final phase, and connected with the Ba culture, show the combination of a large quantity of pottery vessels (62%) with a more limited but significant amount of bronze items (26%). Bronze seals and iron objects were also found in many graves, unlike the burials in Yunyang Lijiaba, Zhongxian and Fuling.

The table 5.24 shows that most of the burials have a number of grave goods comprised between 15 and 25 items or between eight and 14 objects; only a few examples (highlighted in bold) exceed these quantities. This evidence seems to suggest that the community did not have a marked hierarchical division. A clear differentiation is instead visible in the average quantity of grave goods found in the different grave types (table 5.25). Bronze items were mostly used in boat coffins and elongated pits and more occasionally in rectangular and square pits, where pottery is instead more represented. Among the bronze items, the major variations are detectable in the use of weapons and vessels which are clearly associated with boat coffins and elongated pits, while bronze ornaments and seals show less drastic variations. Bronze and iron objects were evenly represented in all the burial types. This evidence seems to suggest a division of roles within the communities, possibly between military and non-military activities, where the military role is strongly characterised by the use of boat coffin, weapons and bronze vessels. Other graves could have belonged to other members of the society or even women.

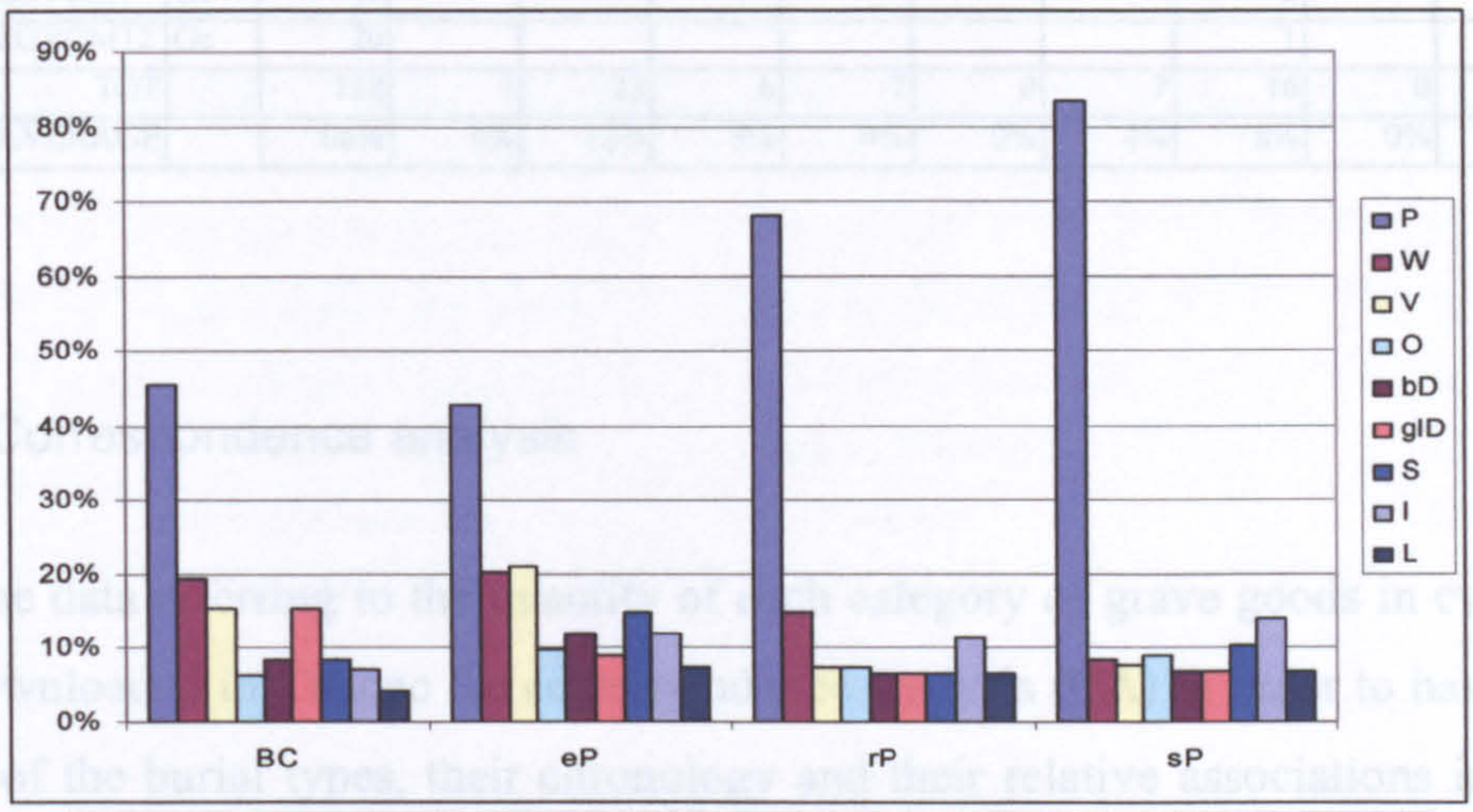
Table 5.24 Baxian Dongsunba. Late Warring States period (post-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC – 250 BC)

tomb		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
54BDM5	BC	5	1	4				1			11
54BDM9	BC	9	8	5	2						24
54BDM12	BC	19		2							21
54BDM42	BC	11	2	3	1	2			1		20
54BDM49	**BC**	**10**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**4 (3 H)**	**4**	**1**		**31**
54BDM50	**BC**	**14**	**8**	**5**	**2**	**4**	**6 (2 H)**	**1**	**3**		**43**
54BDM51	BC	5	3	3	2	1			2	1	17
54BDM41	BCc	12		3	1	1	1			1	19
54BDM1	eP	6	2	5	1		1	1			16
54BDM2	eP	6	1	3	1		1				12
54BDM3	eP	8	3	2	1						14
54BDM4	eP	8	7	3	1	2					21
54BDM6	eP	1	4	4	1						10
54BDM8	eP	5	1	1	1		1 (H)				9
54BDM10	eP	3	2	2				2			9
54BDM11	eP	5	7	5	4						21
54BDM14	eP	6		1					1		8
54BDM16	eP	4	1	1							6
54BDM18	eP	10	1	5							16
54BDM31	eP	4	2					1	2		9
54BDM32	eP	4	1	1			2				8
54BDM33	eP	7	4	3	1	2				1	18
54BDM35	**eP**	**6**	**5**	**6**	**2**	**1**		**4**	**3**		**27**
54BDM43	eP	8	1	2					1		12
54BDM68	eP	5	1	1	1						8
54BDM84	ePc	7	3	3	1				1		15
54BDM7	rP	12	2								14
54BDM34	rP	1	2	1							4
54BDM36	rP	14	2	1					1		18
54BDM37	rP	14	2	1	1	1	1 (1H)		1		21
54BDM39	rP	15	4	1	1			1		1	23
54BDM46	rP	24	1						1		26
54BDM48	rP	4	1						1		6
54BDM52	rP	14	3	2	1			1	4	1	26
54BDM53	rP	7	2	1	1		1				12
54BDM54	rP	10	1						2		13
54BDM55	rP	8	2						2		12
54BDM56	rP	6	5	1	1						13
54BDM57	rP	11	1	1	1						14
54BDM58	rP	13	3	1		1			1		19
54BDM59	rP	7	1	1	1						10
54BDM60	rP	13	2		1		1 (1 H)		1	1	19
54BDM61	rP	7					1				8
54BDM65	rP	10	3	1						1	15
54BDM69	rP	8							4		12
54BDM73	rP	5	2			1			1		9
54BDM74	rP	8							2		10
54BDM75	rP	4							1		5
54BDM76	rP	11	2					1	2		16
54BDM85	**rPc**	**17**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**		**1**	**2**	**1**	**29**
54BDM20	sP	15		1				2			18
54BDM26	sP	12									12
54BDM29	sP	1		1					2		4
54BDM30	**sP**	**30**									**30**
54BDM47	sP	19							2	1	22
54BDM63	sP	23									23
54BDM64	sP	11	1	1		1	1		1		16
54BDM66	sP	4				1			2		7
54BDM67	sP	5	1		2						8
54BDM70	sP	7									7
54BDM71	sP	10									10
54BDM72	sP	8			1				1		10
54BDM77	sP	17	1	1							19

Table 5.24 Baxian Dongsunba. Late Warring States period (post-Qin conquest ar. 316 BC – 250 BC) [continuing from previous page]

tomb		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
54BDM78	sP	12	2	2	1	1					18
54BDM80	sP	7							3		10
54BDM83	sP	9		1		1	1	1	3		16
TOT		621	122	98	38	23	22	21	55	9	1009
AVERAGE		62%	12%	10%	4%	2%	2%	2%	6%	0%	

Table 5.25 Baxian Dongsunba - Average of grave goods in each burial type



	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L	TOT av.
BC	45%	19%	15%	6%	9%	15%	9%	7%	4%	23.3
eP	43%	20%	21%	10%	12%	9%	15%	12%	8%	13.3
rP	68%	15%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	11%	7%	14.8
sP	83%	8%	8%	9%	7%	7%	10%	14%	7%	14.3

The graves dated to the Western Han period (table 5.26) include six burials unearthed in Fuling (78FYM1-4; 82FHM1-2), one from Baxian Dongsunba (54BDM20) and three from Zhongxian (99ZGYBM24, 99ZGYCM7 and CM12); they were all included in the same table, although the dating comprises both early Western Han (Fuling) and a generic Western Han period (Baxian and Zhongxian).

In this case the grave goods assemblages are mainly composed of pottery vessels (66%) with a smaller, although still quite significant, percentage of bronze items (22%). No bronze seals were found, while iron objects form an important component of the assemblages (8%) nearly in all the graves.

Table 5.26 South-east Sichuan. Early Western Han period (206BC – pre-118 BC)

		pott	weap	vess	obj	dec	seals	glass	iron	lacq	TOT
78FYM1	G	2	1	7		3			4		17
78FYM2	G	17	1		1			4	2		25
78FYM3	G			1	1						2
78FYM4	G	1				1					2
82FHM1	rP	15		4	1	2		1	1		24
82FHM2	rP	11	5	9	2	1			5		33
54BDM20	sP	15		1				2			18
99ZGYBM24	Gc	28		1	1				1		31
99ZGYCM7	Gc	19							2		21
99ZGYCM12	Gc	20							1		21
TOT		128	7	23	6	7	0	7	16	0	194
AVERAGE		66%	4%	12%	3%	4%	0%	4%	8%	0%	

5.2.2 Correspondence analysis

The data referring to the quantity of each category of grave goods in every burial were downloaded in Canoco for correspondence analysis (CA) in order to have a visual display of the burial types, their chronology and their relative associations in terms of funerary assemblages. The area of Chengdu and the Chengdu Plain was selected as a sample: 107 burials were considered against the nine variables listed in the tables' columns (see appendix 2). In the resulting graph displaying the burials these were further classified according to their chronology and burial type, indicated by a specific symbol and colour listed in the tables 5.27 and 5.28 below.

Table 5.27 Burial types: codes and symbols

type code	burial type	total
BC	boat-shaped coffins	52
rP	simple rectangular pits with no coffins	75
eP	rectangular elongated pits with no coffins	3
G	wooden encasements *guo*	24
Gc	wooden encasements *guo* with wooden coffin	28
rPc	rectangular pits with wooden coffin	10
ePc	rectangular elongated pits with coffins	3
sP	square-shaped pits	4
Wa	simple rectangular pits with a platform of wooden boards	5

Figure 5.1, which displays the burials according to their chronology, shows that there is no clear demarcation of burials in terms of chronological periods, especially in regard to the early, mid and late Warring States period. A clearer cluster is detectable in

the bottom right quadrant where nearly all of the burials dated to the V and VI phase (early and late Western Han dynasty) are grouped together; a few other burials of the same periods, including the graves 83CFM1, 58CFM1, 92CLM16 and SFM67, are visible in the top right quadrant. The only exception is burial 92CGM5 in the top left quadrant.

Table 5.28 Chronological periods: codes and symbols

code	period	date	total
I	Early Warrring States period	mid V-beg IV cent BC	
II	Mid-late Warring States period	IV cent BC	28
III	Late Warring States period	end IV-mid III cent BC	48
IV	End WS period-Qin period	second half III cent BC	11
V	early Western Han	end III-II cent BC	23
VI	mid-late Western Han	II-I cent BC	8
WS	Warring States period	V- III cent BC	14
WH	Western Han	206 BC- 8AD	22
EH	Eastern Han	25-220 AD	

Figures 5.2 to 5.10, which display the relative percentage of each class of grave goods in all the burials, suggest that it is possible to link the distribution pattern with the assemblages' composition: all the burials in the top right quadrant are characterised by the highest percentage of lacquer and wooden objects (fig. 5.3), while the burials in the bottom right quadrant have the largest quantity of pottery vessels (fig. 5.2) and iron objects (fig. 5.4). The distinction between these two groups and the burials placed at the left side of the *y* axis in the top and bottom left quadrants, which show a higher percentage of bronze weapons (fig. 5.5), seems to adhere to a general trend differentiating the Warring States period from the Western Han dynasty. This trend is also clearly visible comparing the graph displaying the relative percentage of pottery vessels (fig. 5.2) and all the bronze items (fig. 5.10). The unusual position of the grave 92CGM5, dated to the early Western Han period, is caused by the presence of a large number of bronze weapons and vessels in its assemblage, which makes it closer to all the burials of the top left quadrant. On the other hand the inclusion of the burials SFM11-25-56-69 and 82DWM4 (early Warring States period) in the bottom right quadrant (fig. 5.1/5.2) is mainly due to the absolute number of their pottery vessels, higher than the bronzes.

This last evidence shows the possible limitations of an analysis which looks at the general composition of the assemblages, including the material and main functions of the grave goods (pottery, bronze weapons, etc.); a distinction between the different types in each class, which might be chronologically significant, is not accomplished at this stage, thus limiting the purpose of the analysis to an outline of a general trend.

The other graphs displaying the relative percentages of other grave goods classes show a quite even use of bronze vessels all over the Warring States, and only occasionally in the early Western Han period (fig. 5.6), while the bronze objects are more commonly found in association with bronze weapons (fig. 5.5/7); bronze ornaments are also quite evenly distributed in all the graves with a few examples showing a much higher percentage (fig. 5.8). Bronze seals are instead much more widespread in assemblages with a large quantity of pottery vessels and iron objects, and are nearly never adopted in association with bronze weapons (fig. 5.2/4/9).

5.2.2.1 Shifang cemetery

Correspondence analysis was also applied to the burials of Shifang cemetery, excluding those found empty (tot. 53), but in this case the variables were all the typologies of pottery, bronze, lacquer and glass/jade items (tot. 79) and not only the nine general categories (for the full list of Shifang grave goods see appendix 5). This analysis was an attempt to visually display the association of different classes of grave goods over time on a limited sample which could thus show more evidence than the entire bulk of data. The first run (sol. 1) gave the following results:

Table 5.29 Shifang grave good assemblages (sol. 1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.608	.548	.525	.475	8.084
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	7.5	14.3	20.8	26.7	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					8.084

In the graph displaying the burial types (fig. 5.11) the boat coffin SFM11, placed at the end of the *x* axis in the bottom right quadrant, only contains three specimens of the pointed base bowls *zhan* (ZH, fig. 5.13 and fig. 4.43) which are usually attributed to an early period, around the end of the Spring and Autumn period and the beginning of the Warring States period (mid V cent. BC). This feature chronologically associates the burial to the square-pit grave SFM25, placed in the same quadrant, which contains a

large number of the same vessels together with other grave goods. In the top right quadrant the burial SFM53 and SFM33 appear isolated from the main bulk of the square pit: SFM53 contains one of the two specimens of pottery basin (Pe) (fig. 5.13) together with flat base jars (Gf.BI, fig. 4.15) and *fu* (F.C, fig. 4.6), an iron tripod (iDg), *wuzhu* coins and no bronze objects, which have suggested a date around the beginning of the Western Han dynasty. The other example of *pen* is contained in the boat coffin SFM33 together with decorative and personal accessories like pendants (dP) and seals (Sl.B), also displayed in figure 5.13. The boat coffin SFM55 in the top right quadrant (fig. 5.11) has only two objects: one bronze chisel (Z.I) and one bronze pendant which graphically associated it to the burial SFM33.

The isolated position of the graves SFM33, SFM53, SFM55, and SFM11 is thus due to their grave goods composition, which makes a clear distinction between an early (SFM11) and a late (SFM53) phase of the site. The grave SFM33, originally dated to the late phase of the mid Warring States period, can probably be attributed to a slightly later phase, around the end of the Warring States period, especially considering the presence of the pottery basin (Pe) and only one bronze weapon (BIa, fig. 4.64). The grave SFM55 was dated at the early phase of the mid Warring States period; however, the presence of only two objects seriously limits any chronological consideration for this burial.

In the following run of the analysis (sol. 2) the grave good types Pe (basin), Gf.B (flat base jar), dP (pendant) and Sl.B (seal) were deleted, together with the burials SFM11, SFM33, SFM53 and SFM55, leaving a sample of 49 burials and 75 variables. The resulting graph was not very significant for the analysis since it was affected by the strong association between the boat coffin SFM30 and the weapon type A.IIIa (fig. 4.57), which is only found in that grave; the grave SFM30, on the other hand, only contains that type and another weapon (BIIa, fig. 4.65). In the third run (sol. 3) the weapon type A.IIIa3 and the grave SFM30 were thus deleted reducing the sample to 48 burials and 74 variables. The results of this analysis were the following:

Table 5.30 Shifang grave goods assemblages (sol. 3)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.577	.483	.413	.389	6.405
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	9.0	16.4	22.8	28.9	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					6.405

Figures 5.14-16 show the association of clusters of grave goods and burials, and particularly the presence of large quantities of lacquer (lBx, lPe), wooden (mO, mSh, mDg) and iron (iM, iLI, iC, iX, iLn) objects (fig. 5.16) associated to the rectangular pit grave SFM21 and to the *guo* burials SFM66 and SFM67 in the top left quadrant (fig. 5.14). The only bronze weapons are a *jian* type (C.IIIc) (fig. 4.81) attributed to the Chu/Yue tradition, a *mao* type (B.III) (fig. 4.72) occasionally found in later periods and the *yue* type D.V (fig. 4.87) often found in Chu contexts. These burials clearly mark a shift in the funerary custom of the region showing the large use of iron, lacquer and wood objects and the substantial decrease of bronze weapons, vessels and tools. The pottery goods comprise existing types like the *dou* vessel (D.A) (fig. 4.37), the round base *fu* (F.B) (fig. 4.5) and jars (Gr.A/B) (figs. 4.7-12), and the local *hu* type (H.Ia) (fig. 4.27), together with the only examples of *fuzeng* without cord pattern (FZ.Ia) (fig. 4.30). The majority of the pottery thus belongs to the local tradition and does not show significant traits of differentiation as in the case of the other grave goods; the only exceptions are the few flat base jars (Gf.A, figs. 4.13-14 and Gf.C, figs. 4.17-18) which do not belong to the tradition of the round base vessels. The burials SFM66-67 and SFM21 can confidently be dated to a late date, possibly around the beginning of the Western Han dynasty as suggested in the report (SWKY-SWGB 1998: 185), and can be considered the real turning point in the history of the cemetery.

In the right side of figures 5.14 and 5.15 there are displayed the burials SFM25, SFM56 and SFM69, all characterised by the presence of *zhan* vessels, which are generally considered an indication of an early date, around the beginning of the Warring States period. Among these burials the grave SFM25 can be considered quite exceptional: it is the only square pit of an early date among boat-coffin graves (figure 5.14) and it contains a large variety of grave goods, including single examples of some *yue* types (D.I, fig. 4.83 and D.VI, fig. 4.88) and one *ge* type reproducing an archaic shape (A.Ia) (fig. 5.16 and fig. 4.52). The pottery comprises *zhan* bowls, round base jars and a *hu* type (H.Ia) (fig. 4.27/1) characteristic of the Chengdu Plain. The overall composition of the grave suggests not only the high rank of the deceased but also an attempt to differentiate this burial from the others of the same period in terms of wealth and variety of grave goods and in the choice of the burial type. The other square pits of the site includes SFM53, which has been dated to the Western Han dynasty, and SFM65 which does not contain any bronze items but mainly round-base vessels. We can thus consider the grave SFM25 as a quite distinct grave, showing a strong differentiation

within the early phase of the site. Looking at the graphs 5.14 and 5.15 we can see how the burial types are mainly composed by boat-coffin graves and elongated pits (fig. 5.14), especially in the early period if excluding SFM25 and in the mid-late Warring States period (fig. 5.15), while a more marked differentiation in grave goods and burial types is visible in the late Warring States and Qin period when boat-coffins are flanked by simple rectangular pits and *guo* encasements. This change is however only clearly marked in burials like SFM66-67 and SFM21, as already noticed, where a drastic shift in burial assemblages is recognisable in the choice of lacquer, wooden and iron objects, but not in other graves which still contain round base pottery types of the existing tradition.

In the following stage of the analysis (sol. 4) the classes FZ.Ia (pottery), iDg, iC, iLI, iLn, iM (iron), lBx, lP (lacquer), mDg,, mO, mSh (wood), CIIIc, BIII, DV, Zn (bronze weapons) and the burials SFM21, SFM66 and SFM67 were deleted, together with the single occurrences of two *yue* types (D.I, D.VI), the pointed base cup *zhan* (ZH), the flat base jar (Gf.A) and the burials SFM25, leaving a sample of 44 burials and 55 variables. The results were the following:

Table 5.31 Shifang grave goods assemblages (sol. 4)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.435	.383	.378	.339	5.235
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	8.3	15.6	22.8	29.3	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					5.235

The distribution of burials in figures 5.17 and 5.18, respectively referring to burial types and their chronology, can be clarified with reference to figure 5.19, which displays the grave goods assemblages, and shows a clear differentiation along the *x* axis: in the right side there is a predominance of bronze items (weapons, vessels, objects) and a few bronze ornaments, and no significant presence of pottery vessels. In the left side there are nearly all the pottery items and no bronze vessels and objects, except for the chisel Z.I; the examples of bronze weapons include types like the *ge* A.IVb (fig. 4.60), or belonging to a non-local tradition, like the *jian* C.IIIa (fig. 4.69) and the *ge* A.IVd (fig. 4.63). In the same assemblages there are also iron objects (iO, iX). The isolated location of the *hu* type H.Ia (fig. 4.27/1) at the top of the y axis and of the *ding* type Dg.Ia (fig. 4.33) in the top left quadrant was caused by the limited number of these items, respectively in graves SFM51 and SFM41 and in grave SFM39 (fig. 5.17). The rectangular pit SFM59 (bottom left quadrant of figures 5.17-18), dated to the

Qin period, is characterised by a high percentage of decorative objects (pendants *huang*, one button, one bead, one bracelet and one small bell), which are associated to a set of round base jars (Gr.AI) (fig. 4.7) and *fu* (F.AI) (fig. 4.2) with cord pattern and two flat base jars (Gf.D) (fig. 4.20/3). The two weapons include one *mao* belonging to a more local tradition (B.IIa) (fig. 4.65) and a *ge* type closer to the Central Plain typologies and decorated with an inscription (AIVb) (fig. 4.60). The adoption of elements like dress and body ornaments seems to suggest the attempt to mark a differentiation in terms of either personal or social identity. The weapons are limited in amount and only one is inspired to a more local tradition, while the other, characterised by an inscription, seems to be influenced by a different cultural domain where written texts begin to be more widespread, possibily as a consequence of the establishment of the new administrative system; it substituted the zoomorphic symbols of the preceding period more likely associated to the existence of warrior groups or clan. At this regard the occupier of the tomb can be identified as respresenting a new social and political trend developing in a cultural context still strongly rooted into traditional customs and ways of production as the assemblages of pottery in the same tomb suggest.

The rectangular pit SFM20 does not contain any bronze weapons and is instead characterised by round- base jars (Gr.A) and *fu* (F.A), one pottery tripod *ding* and a flat base jar, which are associated to an iron sickle and a bronze chisel. One of the most significant elements in the grave is the lack of bronze weapons and the conscious selection of grave goods which are more associated to productive or daily activities; the pottery shows strong ties with the local production which seems to be pervasive in the whole Warring States period, although the presence of an iron tool can be considered evidence for a later date, around the end of the Warring States period, as suggested in the report.

The two burials SFM26 and SFM57, to which a generic date of Warring States period has been given, are clustered with the grave SFM56, dated to the early Warring States period, in the bottom left quadrant since they share a similar grave goods composition: mainly round-base jars (Gr.I) and *fu* (F.I). As in the case of the boat coffin SFM37, with only one *dou* (D.C) and one *fu* (F.B), they show the adoption of local pottery and technology but do not contain any other kind of grave goods which can be more chronologically significant.

The detached position of the grave SFM3 in the bottom right quadrant is due to the presence of one bronze belt-hook (DG.B) (chapter 4: see types DG.Ib-II), like in the

graves SFM5 and SFM69. In the case of the boat coffin SFM5, which only contains a bronze belt-hook, a bronze carving knife and a bronze arrow, the proposed dating of the first phase of the mid Warring States period does not seem to have solid grounds as the burial was disturbed in a later period and the morphology of the grave, not entirely preserved, does not provide any secure chronological evidence.

From the above analysis we can suggest that the burials' assemblages of the Shifang site show relatively stable funerary customs during the early and mid Warring States period: the burials are mainly boat-coffins and elongated pits and the only exception as regard grave's morphology and mortuary assemblages is SFM25 which probably belonged to a member of the local élite but without sharing the same funerary customs of the other members of the community. Bronze weapons, vessels and objects seem strictly associated to the boat-coffins graves and to the local metal manufactory; an important place is occupied by the bronze weapons whose unusual decorative motifs clearly distinguish them from those produced in the Central Plain and which will be discussed in the following sections. The use of bronze items gradually decreased over time, being replaced by lacquer, iron and wood objects in later periods, around the time of the Qin occupation; this trend is however clearly visible only in burials like SFM21-53-66-67, dated to the Qin and early Han period, which were rectangular pits or *guo* encasements containing a larger quantity of these items. The remaining graves, including rectangular pits, boat-coffins, elongated pits and *guo*, although showing a decrease in the use of bronze items, still contain pottery typologies of the existing tradition, thus suggesting a permanence of the local manufacturing techniques.

5.2.2.2 Yingjing cemeteries

The same analysis on the grave assemblages was undertaken on the burials of the sites in Yingjing: Zengjiagou (81-82-83 YG), Tongxincun (85-86-87YT), Nanluoba (88YL) and Lietai (81YJ). The burials in the Nanluoba site are all rectangular and elongated pit graves, with remains of a coffin in one case, while the Tongxincun sites have a more varied typology ranging from boat coffins (86YT), rectangular pits (85-86-87YT) and elongated pits (86YT). The Zengjiagou site is mainly constituted by *guo* graves containing coffins (81-82-83YG), except for a rectangular pit with coffin, and the site in Lietai has a square pit grave. The burials have all been dated to the Warring States period: the 18 boat coffins in Tongxincun (86YT) to the late phase (III), other

burials in Tongxincun (87YT) and Zengjiagou (83YC) to the mid-late phase, another cluster in Tongxincun (85YT) and the site of Nanluoba (88YL) to the mid-late phase (II/III), and the *guo* coffins of Zengjiagou to the first phase (I), although this dating can not completely be supported by the archaeological evidence. The grave in Lietai has instead been dated to a generic Warring States period (table 5.32).

Table 5.32 Yingjing burial types

site code	period	BC	eP	ePc	G	Gc	rP	rPc	sP	TOT
81YJ	WS								1	1
81YG	I				1	2		1		4
82YG	I					2				2
83YG	II					1				1
85YT	II/III						5			5
86YT	III	18	4				3			26
87YT	II						4			4
88YL	II/III		1	1			9			11
		18	5	1	1	5	21	1		54

For the purpose of the analysis a more restricted sample was selected from the total number of 54 burials, deleting the burials found empty (81YGM14) and those for which a comprehensive recording of their grave goods was not available (81YGM13 and 15, 85YTM1-4, 87YTM1, 87YTM3-4). A few grave goods classes, only found in the deleted burials, were also excluded from the analysis: the flat-base jar Gf.DIII (fig. 4.21) (grave 82YGM15), the weapons BIIc (fig. 4.71) (grave 87YTM4), BV (fig. 4.74) and D.VII (fig. 4.89) (grave 85YTM3), the vessel *dui* (bDu: grave 87YTM1, fig. 4.97), and the ornament *huang* (Hg: grave 85YTM2). The original dataset was thus reduced to 44 graves and 1179 grave goods, containing a total number of 760 pottery vessels, 79 weapons, 67 bronze vessels, 36 bronze objects, 69 bronze ornaments, 21 glass/jade ornaments, 71 seals, 26 iron objects and 50 lacquer items; the analysis was applied on a sample of 44 burials and 78 variables (see appendix 6). The results of the first run (sol. 1) are in table 5.33.

Table 5.33 Yingjing. Grave goods assemblages (sol. 1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.687	.674	.516	.389	5.362
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	12.8	25.4	35.0	42.2	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					5.362

Figure 5.20 shows the graves 81YGM11-12, 82YGM16, 83YGM21 in the top right quadrant and the grave 81YJM1 in the top left quadrant, clearly detached from the main cluster of burials. The same pattern was obtained in the graph displaying the grave goods types (fig. 5.22) where all the objects made of lacquer (lO, lV), wood (mO, mV)

and bamboo (bO) and one type of belt-hook (DG.A) (chapter 4: see types Ia/Ib) are clustered at the end of the *x* axis in the top right quadrant, while the classes ZN (*zun*), K (*kou* or buttons) and bX (bronze *xiao* knives) are associated in the same cluster in the top left quadrant. These two distinct groups of grave goods are clearly related to the two clusters of burials from Zengjiagou and Lietai. The group of four tombs from Zengjiagou, which are all *guo* graves with coffins containing a layer of white clay to protect and seal the wooden encasements, except for the rectangular pit 81YGM11 (fig. 3.22/2), seem to share distinctive features as regard their grave goods assemblages. Bronze weapons, vessels and objects are completely lacking, while pottery jars with flat bases (Gf.DI-II) (figs. 4.19-20) and lacquer/wooden goods are the main components of the assemblages; the grave 81YGM13, which was not considered in the analysis but still belongs to the same group, also contains an iron object. These burials were dated to the first phase of the Warring States period, except 83YGM21 dated to the mid Warring States period, on the basis of the graves' lay-out and morphology, which seems to mark the transition from the "head-niche" compartment of the Spring and Autumn period to the *guo* inner compartments of the following Warring States period; an inscription in the Shang-Zhou *jinwen* style painted on one of the lacquer vessels was also interpreted as evidence of an early date. In fact, it seems more appropriate to date these burials to the late Warring States period, considering the presence of an iron object and the inclusion of two distinct bronze seals: one with Ba Shu symbols structured as Han ideograms (fig. 4.108/9) in burials 82YGM16 (fig. 3.22/1) and one with Han ideograms in grave 83YGM21[2].

Besides considerations about their chronology, it seems clear that the burials in Zengjiagou form quite a distinct group if compared with the other graves of the Yingjing area, sharing common traits in the elaboration of the *guo* coffins and in the choice and combination of grave goods. We can notice a certain degree of homogeneity in the preparation of the pit, covered with white clay in three examples (81YGM12, 82YGM16, 83YGM21) which are also the most elaborated as regard the structure of the *guo* encasements. The use of white clay, on the other hand, has not been detected in any of the other burials excavated in Yingjing. As for the grave goods, the Zengjiagou group shows a clear preference for the use of lacquer and wooden objects, these last including objects that substitute the corresponding examples in bronze (i.e. the sword *jian* in

[2] The same date was suggested by Alain Thote (Thote 2001: 112)

83YGM21). Bronze weapons and vessels were completely excluded from the bulk of the grave goods, except for the bronze seal and the belt hook found in 83YGM21. The pottery vessels include some flat-base jars (types Gf.DI-II, fig. 4.19/3 and Gf.AI, fig. 4.13) with a simple incised decoration disposed in parallel lines and round-base fu and guan which clearly belong to the local tradition of pottery vessels. We can thus suggest that in the funerary rituals practised in Zengjiagou both the structure of the encasements and the refinement of the lacquer objects are clear evidence of a different cultural and social affiliation. On the other hand bronze objects only comprise items which are more connected to the individual dimension of the deceased (seal/belt-hook) than to a social sphere as in the case of the decorated bronze weapons found in other sites of the Yingjing area, which will be discussed below. This difference in the choice and use of material (lacquer versus bronze) and of classes of objects (vessels versus weapons) could be explained with the existence of distinct social groups having different funerary customs.

As regard burial 81YJM1, it is the only square pit of the Yingjing area and is characterised by the high number of bronze objects (tot. 41) that are associated to pottery vessels like *fu* and *guan* similar to those found in Zengjiagou. The distinct trait of these bronze items is that they are mainly composed by small decorative objects like *pao* and *kou* (K/P), a small bell (dB), a bracelet (Hn) a pendant with zoomorphic designs (dP) and by a consistent number of seals (tot. 8), seven with Ba Shu symbols (SlB) and one with Han ideograms (SlH); in the same burial *xiao* knives (bX.I) and a bow cover (bwC) were found. These items are similar to those found in the grave 85YTM2, not included in the analysis, where the small bells and the buttons seem to suggest a parallel with the grave goods found in the slate tombs of south-west Sichuan. Considering the presence of the two types of seals (SlB and SlH), a dating to the late phase of the Warring States period can be suggested.

The difference in grave goods assemblages of these two groups of burials (Zengjiagou and Lietai) is reflected in their spatial distribution on the graph: the Zengjiagou and Lietai graves are clustered at the right end of the *x* axis and at the top of the *y* axis, and clearly separated by the main bulk of burials at the centre of the graph, entirely composed by the Nanluoba and Tongxincun graves (fig. 5.21). The two clusters of burials are also separated geographically: the choice of the location must thus have been another factor differentiating the various groups of people living in the Yingjing area. A clear-cut difference is also visible in the choice of the burial types: *guo*

encasements with coffins or rectangular/square pits for Zengjiaokou and Lietai, and a larger variety of types (boat coffins, rectangular pits and elongated pits with or without coffins) for Tongxincun and Nanluoba (fig. 5.20).

In the second run of the analysis (sol. 2) the group of Zengjiagou burials (81YGM11-12, 82YGM16 and 83YGM21) and the Lietai grave (81YJM1) were deleted, together with the grave goods which marked a significant difference with the main bulk of burials in the graph (figs 5.20-22): the objects made of wood (mO), bamboo (bO) and lacquer (lO-lV), the single occurrences of the bow cover (bwC) and a belt-hook type (DG.A). The ornament class comprising *pao* and *kou* (K) was not deleted since it is occasionally included in other graves. The remaining sample was thus composed by nearly all the burials found in Tongxincun and Nanluoba (tot. 39) and by 71 variables. The results showed a slightly lower degree of variance, as displayed in the table below.

Table 5.34 Yingjing grave goods assemblages (sol. 2)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.533	.399	.316	.256	3.872
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	13.8	24.1	32.3	38.9	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.872

The graphs (fig.5.23-26) show a clear-cut differentiation between the Tongxincun (86YT) and the Nanluoba (88YL) sites along the *x* axis, the only exceptions being the graves 86YTM5 and 86YTM3. The burial 87YTM2 is instead isolated in the top right quadrant (fig. 5.24). A similar differentiation is visible as regard the burials types: mainly boat coffins and elongated pits in Tongxincun (86YT) with only two rectangular pits (86YTM1-2) in the main bulk and two (86YTM3 and 86YTM5) within the Nanluoba cluster, and mainly rectangular pits in Nanluoba, excluding an elongated pit (88YLM10) and an elongated pit with coffin (88YLM11) (fig. 5.23). The anomalous position of 87YTM2 was due to the presence of the *dou* type D.Da (fig. 4.40/2), only found in this grave (fig. 5.26); as for the other grave goods, the same graph displays a general differentiation between assemblages containing pottery vessels and only a few bronze items, like the *jian* type C.I (fig. 4.77) and the *xiao* knife (bXI) (fig. 4.104), and those including a large quantity of bronze vessels, weapons and objects, iron objects and seals. This difference, which also finds a correspondence in the chronology given in the report (fig. 5.25), seems to be more related with a difference in the social affiliation of the deceased; the lack of bronze weapons and vessels can not be considered a peculiar

characteristic of the mid Warring States period since other sites of the same phase in Chengdu city and in the Chengdu Plain show a high percentage of these items.

In the third run of the analysis (sol. 3) the pottery *dou* D.Da was deleted as it appeared in only one grave (87YTM2), leaving a total number of 70 variables. The results were the following:

Table 5.35 Yingjing grave goods assemblages (sol. 3)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.524	.338	.288	.241	3.696
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	14.2	23.3	31.1	37.6	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.696

The graphs clearly display the difference in burial types (fig. 5.27) and grave goods assemblages (fig. 5.29) between the sites of Tongxincun (86YT) and Nanluoba (88YL) (fig. 5.28). The burials 87YTM2 and 85YTM5 share common traits with the graves of Nanluoba, together with the burial 86YTM3 which is the only example of rectangular grave from the site of Tongxincun (86YT) to be placed at the right of the *y* axis. The graph displaying the grave goods (fig. 5.29) shows a prevalence of round and flat-base pottery items, mainly storage and cooking vessels, mixed with a limited number of weapons (*jian* CI and arrows Zu) and various ornaments made of bone (bnO) or glass (beads glBD); other bronze weapons or vessels are completely lacking. In the left bottom quadrant, corresponding to some of the Tongxincun graves, there is a high concentration of bronze weapons, vessels, objects and ornaments together with *dou* bowls and seals engraved with symbols (Sl.B); only a very limited amount of jars and *fu* vessels was found. All the burials are boat-coffins, except for the grave 86YTM1. The top left quadrant, on the other hand, displays a high concentration of pottery items, again storage and cooking vessels, together with two groups of weapons (BIIb2, fig. 4.70 and one *ji* halberd), one late type of belt-hook (DG.C) (chapter 4: see type III), all the iron objects and two examples of seals with ideograms (Sl.H). The burials include a larger variety of types: boat coffins, rectangular pits and elongated pits. The difference between the top and the bottom left quadrants could be explained with the existence of subsequent chronological phases in the site: an early period characterised by the wide adoption of bronze vessels and objects, together with ritual pottery vessels (*dou*) and seals, and a later phase which shows the acquisition of iron objects mixed with storage and cooking vessels. Even the use of the pottery vessel *mou* (M.Ia-b), which reproduces a locally produced bronze vessel with a lateral handle decorated with a plait-pattern,

could support the suggestion of a late dating. The late phase could be fixed around the Warring States/Qin period (IV phase: mid-beg. III cent. BC), while the other could be slightly earlier, before the mid III cent BC. This suggestion could refine the conclusions of the archaeological report, which dates all the burials to the late stage of the Warring States-Qin period.

On the other hand, if one assumes a similar phase for all the burials, as suggested in the archaeological report, the same differences could also be explained by the existence of various social groups at the same site: the cluster of graves in the bottom left quadrant could belong to members of the community who adopt a set of specific items as a way of expressing their wealth and social affiliation, including decorated weapons, ornaments and seals. The other cluster seems to belong to a different tradition where storage and cooking vessels are adopted together with those iron objects widely used for daily activities like agriculture, carving and cooking; lacquer vessels were also found in these graves. It can be tentatively suggested that the difference among these two groups of burials in Tongxincun (86YT) reflect not only the existence of various social groups and their distinct activities. It has to be noted that the boundary between these two clusters is not completely clear-cut: the adoption of the pottery *mou* reproducing a similar vessel in bronze shows the existence of an attempt to perpetuate or imitate a local tradition through a different medium, as it is the inclusion of a bronze weapon (BIIb2) (fig. 4.70) in the grave assemblages.

In the IV run of the analysis (sol. 4) the Nanluoba burials were completely deleted, leaving a sample only composed by the Tongxincun burials (85-86-87YT) for a total of 28 graves and 66 variables. The aim was to refine the internal differentiation of the site. The results were:

Table 5.36 Tongxincun grave goods assemblages (sol.4)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.466	.360	.316	.280	3.318
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	14.0	24.9	34.4	42.8	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.318

The graph displaying the burials types (fig. 5.30) shows the marginal position of the burial 87YTM2 and the one showing the grave goods (fig. 5.31) the isolated place of the pottery jar types Gf.F-G (fig. 4.26) which was only found in the grave 87YTM2 and in some of the Nanluoba burials already deleted. The rest of the burials shows clusters quite similar to those found in the preceding section, but even more marked, with boat

coffins and a few elongated pits concentrated in the bottom left quadrant and boat coffins and rectangular pits in the top quadrants. As for the grave goods the top left quadrant mainly includes bronze vessels, weapons and objects, together with seals and decorative pendants. In the bottom left quadrant, on the other hand, no bronze objects and vessels are displayed, and the grave goods are mainly composed by iron objects and vessels, flat-base pottery jars (Gf.DI-DII, Gf.B, Gf.C, Gf) (figs. 4.15-22), basins (Pe) and round-base *fu* (F, F.B and F.A). The bronze weapons include four examples of the *mao* type BIIb2 (fig. 4.70), and one halberd (E); the only bronze ornament is a late type of belt-hook (DG.C).

In the V run (sol. 5) the pottery type Gf.F-G was deleted leaving a sample of 28 graves and 65 variables. This last run of the analysis was undertaken in order to create a clearer visual display of the assemblages and burial types distribution in the Tongxincun sites. The results were the following:

Table 5.37 Tongxincun grave goods assemblages (sol.5)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.360	.353	.312	.226	3.095
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	11.6	23.0	33.1	40.4	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.095

The graph displaying the burial types shows the isolated position of all the rectangular pits: 87YTM2, 85YTM5, 86YTM1 and 86YTM3 (fig. 5.32). The first two contain arrows (Zu), also displayed in a detached position in the graph (fig. 5.33). The grave 87YTM2 also include round base *fu*, flat base jars (Gf.F-G) (fig. 4.26) and *dou* vessels (D.Da) (fig. 4.40) (these last two items already deleted), one *jian* weapon (CIIa-b) (fig. 4.78) and one *xiao* knife, thus combining the adoption of locally produced pottery vessels, not found in other areas, with a few bronze items, the *jian* being simply decorated and with no zoomorphic designs. If these grave goods are compared with those found in other burials of the same area (87YTM1-3-4), we can notice the general adoption of only a small quantity of decorated weapons together with examples rarely seen in other areas, such as the *mao* type B.IIc (87YTM4:1) (fig. 4.71); the *jian* type C.II with a simple spotted pattern is the weapon most widely used. The grave 85YTM5 in the same graph 32 is characterised by the large use of pottery round base bowls (Br) (fig. 5.33), *dou* vessels (D.B) (fig. 4.38) and jars (Gr.AI), together with the same *jian* type C.II (fig. 4.78) and arrows (Zu). Both graves 87YTM2 and 85YTM5 thus contain

items which associate them to the burials of the nearby cemetery (86YT), but they lack the more extensive use of bronze vessels, ornaments and seals, as well as adopting another form of burial (the simple rectangular pit).

The burial 86YTM1, belonging to the cemetery, is instead characterised by a Qin type *ge* (A.IVd) (fig. 4.63) and by non decorated *ge* (A.IVb-c) (figs. 4.60-61) and *mao* (B.VI) (fig. 4.76) types, which were found together with the decorated *mao* type (B.Ia1) (fig. 4.65), bronze vessels (bF-bM), one bracelet (Hn) and one seal (SlB). The grave thus shows a set of items similar to other burials in the cemetery (all in the bottom right quadrant), but with the inclusion of a Qin *ge* (A.IVd) and the choice of a different grave type (the rectangular pit). Another rectangular grave belonging to the cemetery (86YTM2) contains weapons (B.Iia, fig. 4.67 and C.II, fig. 4.78), bronze vessels (bBf, bF and bM), objects (bX.II and J.II-III) and a non-decorated belt-hook (DG.C) (type III), but no engraved seals were found as in most of the boat coffins of the cemetery. This grave thus seems more similar to the elongated pits and boat coffins clustered in the top left quadrant of the graph 32 (86YTM12-15, 4, 7-9) which did not include any seals. As for the grave 86YTM3 in the same graph, it only contains one glass bead and one bronze bracelet thus preventing a discussion on grave good assemblages, although it has to be noted that no seals were found.

If considering the main bulk of the graves in Tongxincun cemetery, a major differentiation in grave good assemblages is clearly visible between the burials clustered at the right side of the *y* axis (86YTM19, 23, 10, 21b, 20, 18, 21a, 22) and those concentrated in the opposite section. We have already noted how this difference might be produced by the existence of consecutive chronological phases at the site, with the earlier graves in the right bottom quadrant, or by the presence of different social groups. Under this perspective, the graves in the right bottom quadrant display the large use of bronze items, all expressing wealth, status and group affiliation (see the seals and the decorated weapons), and ritual vessels like *dou*, while the other graves give preference to large pottery vessels and daily iron items and do not generally include bronze seals.

5.2.3 Conclusions of analysis I

The first section of the analysis (5.1) tried to give a detailed outline of all the funerary assemblages, divided into four major geographical areas (Chengdu and

Chengdu Plain, north Sichuan, south-east Sichuan and south-west Sichuan) (fig. 2.5), and to discuss their general composition with Excel analytical tools (count, sum, average, percentages). The operation was useful for a preliminary evaluation and discussion of the data, especially as regard the quantity and quality of grave goods used in each period, which were connected with differences in status, social affiliation, occupational role or gender of the deceased and thus opposed to the standard cultural affiiations offered by previous studies. The analysis was also significant for visually outline general trends over time in mortuary rituals, like the increasing use of pottery and iron items at the end of the Warring States period.

In the Chengdu plain a major differentiation was clearly detectable from the early to the mid-Warring States period between graves containing bronze ritual vessels and weapons, decorated with archaic motifs and inspired to an old tradition of the Central Plain, mainly clustered in Chengdu (64CBM10, 63CWM1, 73CXM1) but also in the Plain (80XMM1, 76MQM1), and other burials characterised by the prevalence of weapons with zoomorphic designs, usually connected with the Ba-Shu culture, and locally produced pottery vessels. This difference is likely to be associated with the the coexistence of different elite and high rank groups in the same area, and tends to disappear in a later period when the variations between graves can be detected in the burial types (*guo* and rectangular pits as opposed to boat coffins) and in the funerary assemblages (pottery/lacquer/iron vs. bronzes) associated to new elites or other social groups. In all the periods the sites in the Chengdu Plain show the existence of a complex social stratification, including a local elite, a class of warriors and groups of newly settled soldiers and immigrants. The coexistence of different groups of local and non-local origin is also exemplified by the composite nature of the funerary assemblages of many sites in the Chengdu Plain.

In north Sichuan a major differentiation was noticed between the sites of Zhaohua and Qingchuan, the first characterised by boat coffins with an internal wooden coffin and containing bronze weapons and objects, probably related to a community of mid-rank members partly devoted to military activities and equally influenced by the Qin and Ba cultures, and the second mainly composed by *guo* graves with a prevalence of pottery vessels, probably associated to a community of settled immigrants coming from the Central Plain regions to colonise northern Sichuan. In south-east Sichuan the sites of Yunyang and Zhongxian have rectangular pits or *guo* graves dated to the mid-late Warring States period and usually containing a limited quantity of items, with no

evidence of a ruling elite, while the burials of Fuling are all large-size square pits with a high number of bronze weapons and vessels, very likely connected to a local elite. The site of Baxian in the same area is instead characterised by a relative consistency in funerary assemblages, whose internal differentiation has been connected with differences in role (military/non-military) and gender

The second section (5.2) was devoted to an evaluation of selected samples using correspondence analysis. The data from the Chengdu Plain, which cover the whole period from the early Warring States to the late Western Han dynasty, were first tested in order to visually display the relative percentage of each grave good class over time (figs. 5.1-10); the analysis was however limited to the identification of general trends in the material and main function of the funerary items (e.g. bronze weapons vs. pottery), since it did not include all the grave good types in each category. Another test on all the object types was thus applied on the site of Shifang in the Chengdu Plain and on the cemeteries of the Yingjing area in south-west Sichuan since they had different chronological phases (Shifang) or different burial clusters (Yingjing) which could better emphasise chronological or spatial variations within these two areas.

The analysis on Shifang showed a relative homogeneity of the burial types and their funerary assemblages during the three phases of the Warring States period: they are mainly boat-coffins and elongated pits containing weapons with zoomorphic motifs and locally produced pottery and bronze vessels; the only exception was SFM25 which probably belonged to a member of the local élite but without sharing the same funerary customs of the other members of the community. This evidence suggested that despite the presence of a common cultural tradition within the community, generally related to a Ba-Shu culture, a marked variation in the choice of the burial type was found in the case of the only elite grave of the site related to the earliest period. Around the end of the Warring States period and the Qin dynasty lacquer, iron and wood objects were more widely used as in the graves SFM21-53-66-67, all rectangular pits and *guo* encasements dated to the Qin and early Han periods. The remaining burials, including rectangular pits, boat-coffins, elongated pits and *guo*, all show a more limited quantity of bronze items, although still containing pottery types of local tradition until the Western Han period. In all the different phases no bronze ritual vessels or weapons with archaic motifs, as those unearthed in Chengdu or in other places of the Plain, were found in Shifang, thus marking a clear differentiation of the funerary assemblages of this site, especially as regard elite burials. Shifang was probably a community with a hierarchical

structure and local mortuary traditions differing from those of other sites in Chengdu and in the Chengdu Plain, where the elite groups seem to be strongly influenced by the Chu culture.

The analysis on Yingjing clearly showed the existence of different clusters of burials in the same area, although all dated to the late Warring States period (III cent. BC). On the one hand there are the *guo* graves of Zengjiagou and Lietai, which contain flat-base pottery vessels and lacquer items but no bronze objects; grave types and objects are clearly influenced by Qin culture and it can be suggested that the groups adopting these mortuary practices might have been immigrants from the Central Plain, who did not assimilate the local customs but firmly preserved a cultural diversity. On the other hand the burials of Nanluoba and Tongxincun (figs. 5.20-22), which included a different variety of burial types and funerary assemblages. Within this last group a marked differentiation was also visible between the two sites of Nanluoba and Tongxincun: the first was mainly composed of rectangular pits containing small pottery vessels, while the second has boat coffins and elongated pits with a large quantity of bronze weapons and vessels, seals and round-base pottery vessels (figs. 5.27-29). These differences were interpreted as evidence of the coexistence in the same area of a high rank group, possibly involved in the local administration and military activities, and present both in Tongxincun and Nanluoba with a highly characterised set of items (weapons, seals), and other mid-rank groups not directly participating to military activities or possibly composed by women. The same analysis applied on the burials of Tongxincun also showed a rough differentiation between burials mainly containing bronze weapons/vessels and small pottery items and those with a large quantity of storage vessels and iron objects (figs. 32-33); this difference was tentatively connected with differences in social roles or again gender.

The set of analyses in sections 1 and 2 of this chapter has shown the main characteristics of the funerary assemblages and major variations between and within sites. In the next chapter individual grave good categories (pottery vessels, bronze weapons and weapon decoration) will be explored in more detail in order to evaluate their use over time and in various geographical areas. The main concern will be to assess the persistence of local traits in the pottery and metal manufacture and the different degrees of acquisition of new and non-local traits as evidence of social mobility and change.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS II-V: BURIAL TYPES AND GRAVE GOODS

6.1 ANALYSIS II: BURIAL AND POTTERY TYPES

6.1.1 Sichuan region

Correspondence analysis is often applied to pottery classes in order to obtain a seriation for chronological purposes; in this study it is used as a tool to clarify the relative date of those sites for which a complete dataset was available and where significant chronological indicators such as the *zhan* vessels were included. The patterns found in the distribution and assemblages of pottery vessels in burials, however, can not only be interpreted as resulting from chronological change, but also as evidence of different mortuary practices, possibly varying according to the social and cultural affiliation of the individual or group concerned. The standard associations between certain classes of pottery and distinct cultural groups (Ba, Shu, Chu) are in this case tested, and sometime reinterpreted when the expected standard patterns are not found. The analysis is first applied to the whole region and then to those individual sites for which a full chronological sequence was available (Shifang) or where clear variations between clusters of burials were detected in the same area (Yingjing).

The first analysis considers a dataset composed of 3357 pottery vessels which was collected from published reports and during visits to the archaeological sites. They were divided into 170 discrete types according to their functional, morphological and technological characteristics (see chapter 4). For the purpose of the analysis, however, 74 variables, obtained through the combination of similar classes, have initially been considered. The correspondence analysis of this dataset, and specifically of the association between burial types and pottery vessels, aims to assess the existence of specific patterns in the distribution and assemblages of certain classes of pottery vessels in different types of burials, and to interpret their meaning either as chronological indicators or evidence of cultural and social affiliations.

The original dataset of 462 burials was reduced to the 369 burials that contained pottery objects, to be associated with 74 variables; from this sample other burials had to be deleted: the graves of Baxian Dongsunba (54BDM1-85) and Guangyuan Zhaohua (54GZM1-15 and 95GZM16-24 except 95GZM17), all the burials of Qingchuan (72QM1-72), except 72QM1 and 72QM23, and those of Chengdu Luojianian (92CLM1-34), except burials M16, M22 and M34. The graves 85YTM1-3-4, 87YTM1 and 87YTM4, 92CJM18, 97ZGYBM1-5, 98ZGYBM17-18, 98ZGYBM20 and 22, 98ZGYDM3-7 and 9, and 99ZGYCM16 were also deleted because they were not fully reported. The pottery vessels from Baxian Dongsunba (54BDM1-85) and Guangyuan Zhaohua (54GZM1-15), presented in a complete dataset but only divided into general categories (*dou*, *fu*, etc.) without specifying the types, were used for a more general evaluation of the pottery types adopted in the two sites.

The resulting dataset was thus composed of 222 burials, containing 2259 pottery vessels divided into 61 variables; from the preceding 74 all the general categories, like D (*dou*), Gf (flat based *guan*) etc, were excluded. For the purpose of the analysis other categories with no or single occurrences were deleted in correspondence analysis (CA): *bi* (0), BSL or *boshanlu* (1), Dg or *ding* I-IV-V (1 each), *fu* type F.D (1), FZ or *fuzeng* III (1) and IV (2), flat-based *guan* Gf.L (1) and Gf.M (1), *guan* with handles Gf.h (2), *hu* type IIIb (0) and IIIc (2), hollowed vessel Kv (3), *li* (2), nail pN (1), plate *pan* Pa (0), tiles (0), well model (3), weaving wheels WH (4) and all the covers C (43). This reduced the total number of pottery vessels to 2177 and the related variables to 51. As for the burials, the graves at Jinchuan Fandian in Chengdu (86CJM1) and the burial 86YTM1 in Yingjing Tongxincun were deleted since they respectively contained two weaving wheels and one cover, classes already excluded from the analysis given their very limited number. The total number of burials considered in the analysis was thus 220 (for the full list see appendix 3.1-3.2). The analysis ran on this sample gave the following results:

Table 6.1 Sichuan burials/pottery types (sol. 1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.742	.630	.606	.586	10.971
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	6.8	12.5	18.0	23.4	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					10.971

In Canodraw the graph displaying the burials (fig. 6.1) shows a group of graves distributed along the I axis (*y*) while the main bulk is concentrated along the *x* axis and

in the two bottom quadrants; comparing this graph with the one diplaying the pottery grave goods (fig. 6.2) we notice that the element making a strong differentiation between the two groups of burials is the *zhan* (ZH) vessel, which is generally recognised as one of the main chronological indicators of the funerary assemblages, usually referring to an early date. Almost all the burials (63CWM1, 64CBM10, 92CJM1, 80CZM1, SFM11-25-56-69, 92CHM1, 77JJM4 and 82DWM4) contain *zhan* vessels, which in most cases constitute the only specimens or the highest percentage of the total number of pottery objects and are usually associated with bronze weapons and vessels. The burial of Chengdu Wuxian (63CWM1) contains four *zhan* associated to bronze objects, the Baihuatan grave (64CBM10) has only one *zhan*, together with bronze objects, like the grave in Chengdu Jinyucun (92CJM1). The burial of Chengdu Zhongyi Xueyuan (80CZM1) contains a total number of four *zhan* in an assemblage of five pottery vessels, the 11 *zhan* in the grave of Dayi Wulong (82DWM4) covers nearly 50% of the whole assemblage (29 pottery objects), as the four *zhan* in the grave 77JJM4 at Jinjing Qianwei (4:8). The burials in Chengdu Huacheng (92CHM1-92CHM2) respectively have one and two *zhan* on a total number of two and five, the burial SFM11 in Shifang only has three *zhan*, and the grave SFM25 contains 12 *zhan* on a total number of 19. The only two cases in which the *zhan* do not cover a high proportion of the whole assemblage is in the graves SFM56 (1:5) and SFM69 (1:7) in Shifang, although the whole grave assemblage show a high proportion of bronze weapons and ornaments.

It can be suggested that the burials clustered in the graph share common features in their assemblages, particularly the presence of the *zhan* vessel and its close association to bronze weapons; in many cases these traits can be linked to the early date of the burial (fig. 6.3). This assumption can be certainly applied to the burials of Baihuatan (64CBM10), Wuxian (63CWM1), Jinyucun (92CJM1) and Zhongyi Xueyuan (80CZM1), all located in Chengdu city, where the assemblage is mainly composed of bronze weapons and vessels and a few *zhan*. The burials SFM25-11-56 and 69 in Shifang can also be given an early date if compared with the other graves in the site which completely lack *zhan* vessels, as also suggested by the archaeological report. At this stage of the analysis the resulting pattern has thus mainly a chronological significance since it emphasises those attributes more closely related to an early period.

In the following CA it was decided to delete the ZH category and all those burials that only contain this class of pottery: 63CWM1, 64CBM10, 80CZM1, SFM11,

92CHM1 and 92CJM1. The others were kept since they also include other pottery vessels and in order to explore their relationships with the main cluster of graves. The dataset was thus further restricted to 214 burials and 51 variables, giving the following results:

Table 6.2 Sichuan burials/pottery types (sol. 2)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.742	.611	.595	.489	10.805
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	6.9	12.5	18.0	22.5	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					10.805

The graphs in Canodraw show a more articulated pattern especially as regard the different assemblages of pottery items found in the various grave types. The following is the table of classification which was adopted to display the different classes of pottery vessels in the Canoco graphs: all the jars with flat bases were indicated with the square symbol and those with round bases with a circle; different colours indicate various groups of typologies, like the blue squares for wheel-thrown jars with refined surfaces.

Table 6.3 Pottery vessels categories

type	group	types included
D	*dou*	*dou*
Gf1	flat-based *guan*	Gf.A, Gf.BI, Gf.DI-DII, Gf.F, Gf.G, Gf.H, Gf.N
Gf2	flat-based *guan*	Gf.BII, Gf.DIV : wheel thrown, refined surfaces
Gf3	flat-based *guan*	Gf.C : *weng* type
Gf4	flat-based *guan* and *hu*	Gf.E, H.II : high neck and globular body
Gf5	flat-based *guan*	Gf.DIII : high elongated vessels
Gr1	round-based vessels	*fu* (F.A, F.B, Fh), round-based *guan* (Gr.A), *mou* (M)
Gr2	round-based vessels	*fu* (F.C, F.E), round-based *guan* (Gr.AIII-AV)
H	*hu*	H.I, H.IIIa
B	bowls and basins	*erhuan* (eH), flat (fB) and round (rB) bowls, *pen* basins (Pe)
M	musical instruments	
ZH	*zhan*	ZH
O	others	*ding* (Dg.I, Dg.III), *zeng* Z, *mingqi* MQ, boxes Bx

If we compare the figures 6.4 and 6.5 we can see the following associations: figure 6.4, which displays the burial types, shows the clustering of nearly all the boat coffins along the *y* axis in the top and bottom left quadrants and a more even distribution of the other burial types. Figure 6.5, which displays the pottery types, shows

that the cluster of pottery types associated with the boat coffins in the bottom left quadrant include all the round-based *fu* and *guan* of the group Gr1 (F.A/F.B/Fh/Gr.A) characterised by the use of cord pattern and a combined hand-and-wheel throwing technique. In the same cluster are most of the *dou* vessels, grouped under the general category D. The same patterns are visible in the top left quadrant where all the other round-base vessels (Gr/F/M/Fh) are clustered with *dou* bowls (D/D.B/D.D). In the top right quadrant of the graph the cluster of pottery vessels shows a wider variety of morphological and functional classes, with a clear predominance of flat-base jars and more technologically refined pottery vessels, like wheel/thrown jars with flat bases (Gf.BII)(group Gf2), wheel thrown *fu* with outward-flaring rims (F.C, F.E) (group Gr2), most of the flat-based jars (Gf.A, Gf.BI, Gf.C, Gf.H, Gf.N) (group Gf1) and nearly all the basins *pen* and flat-based bowls (group B).

If this graph is compared with the one displaying the burials by their chronology (fig. 6.6), we can notice three main clusters of burials, the first in the bottom left quadrant, the second in the top left quadrant and the third in the top right quadrant. The first group includes burials from the mid Warring States period to the Qin period and only a few dated to the early Warring States period, the second all late Warring States period burials (mainly those of Baxian Dongsunba) and the third cluster is mostly composed by graves dated to the late Western Han period. This differentiation is also roughly reflected in the graph displaying the burial types (fig. 6.4): the *guo* graves, simple pits with coffins, and *guo* with coffins, although already present in an earlier period with the boat coffins (bottom left quadrant), are clustered in the top right quadrant and associated to a later phase, thus expressing the consolidation of funerary practices which were completely detached from the traditional local custom of the boat coffins. The boat graves were instead more widely used during the entire Warring States period, together with other forms of funerary practices.

The graphs thus show a general differentiation between pottery assemblages, pottery types and chronological periods: a more technologically refined pottery, usually thrown on the fast wheel and with simple parallel lines as decoration, generally used in wooden encasements *guo* or simple rectangular pits dated to the Western Han dynasty, versus round-based vessels with impressed cord pattern and small serving recipients, most probably connected with the performance of rituals, adopted in boat-shaped coffins and simple rectangular pits of earlier periods. This level of analysis only showed

general chronological and typological trends could be identified, while more refined variations between and within sites could not clearly be detected.

6.1.2 Shifang cemetery

The overall number of pottery vessels from Shifang cemetery was used for testing the chronological sequence of the site, and as a more limited sample to assess the associations between pottery and burial types. The first CA run (sol. 1) was made on all the 49 burials containing a total number of 344 pottery vessels divided into 22 pottery types; this number results from the merging of an original number of 37 variables (for the full list see appendix 5.1). The results were as follows:

Table 6.4 Shifang burials/pottery types (sol.1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.692	.571	.461	.430	4.948
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	14.0	25.5	34.9	43.5	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					4.948

The graph displaying the burial types (fig. 6.7) shows a few graves distributed along the right end of the *x* axis clearly separated from the main central bulk: SFM11-25-56-69, which are all dated to the early Warring States period (fig. 6.8). All the other graves are distributed along the *y* axis, mainly in the top and bottom left quadrants, showing a clear differentiation as regard their types and chronology. The top left quadrant includes all the burials dated from the end of the Warring States period to the mid-late Western Han dynasty, while the bottom left quadrant contains all the other graves dated to the mid or the late Warring States period. In the graph displaying the pottery vessels (fig. 6.9), we notice that the burials SFM11-25 are associated to the *zhan* vessel, which is considered a chronological indicator of an early date, around the beginning of the Warring States period. The graves SFM56 and SFM69 further left also include *zhan* in their grave goods, associated to *fu* types with round bases (F.A, F.B).

In the top left quadrant the steamers FZ.Ia (fig. 4.30) and FZ.III (fig. 4.31) are associated to the burials SFM66 and SFM21 and to the grave SFM61; these vessels lack the cord-pattern motif which is usually found on most of the locally produced items, especially those contained in boat coffins. In this case, the graves SFM21 and SFM61 are rectangular pits and the burial SFM66 a *guo* encasement, all dated between the Qin

and the early Western Han period. To the same group of late burials, also including SFM67-60-24-50-20-65-23-59 and SFM53, other specific classes of pottery items are associated (fig. 6.9), like large flat.base jars (Gf.BIa [fig. 4.15], Gf.C [4.17/18], Gf.DI-DII [4.19/20]), storage round-base jars (Gr.AII [fig. 4.8]), shallow *dou* (D.AII [fig. 4.37/2]) and a nearly-flat-base *fu* (F.CI [fig. 4.6]). These items are mainly found in rectangular and square pits and in only a limited number of boat-coffins (fig. 6.7). In the bottom left quadrant all the graves, mainly composed of boat coffins and elongated pits of the mid-late Warring States period, are instead associated with round base jars (Gr.AI) and *fu* (F.A, F.B), short (D.AI) (fig. 4.37/1) and high (D.CII) (fig. 4.39/3) stemmed *dou*, flat-base bowls (Bf) and cord-patterned steamers (FZ.Ib) (fig. 4.30/2).

The three graphs thus show on the one hand a chronological differentiation between early (SFM11-25-56-69) and late (SFM21-60-66-67-61 etc.) burials, but also a significant difference in the selection and association of pottery assemblages and burial types which better characterise the variations within the sample. The main difference is between smaller vessels and large-storage containers, which suggests a substantial shift of mortuary customs from early to later times.

In the second run (sol. 2) the burial SFM11 was deleted, since it only contained *zhan* vessels, as were the graves SFM56 and SFM69 which only included *zhan* and a few round-base jars; the classes ZH, FZ.III, FZ.Ia and all the covers (C) were also excluded, leaving a sample of 46 burials and 18 variables. The results are shown in table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Shifang burials/pottery types (sol. 2)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.563	.456	.436	.385	3.888
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	14.5	26.2	37.4	47.3	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.888

In the graphs produced in Canodraw it was possible to identify some clear clusters and associations. In figure 6.10 the chronological boundaries already noted in the figure 6.8 are better defined, especially as regard the latest burials. The grave SFM53, dated to the mid-late Western Han period, is placed in the top right quadrant in an isolated position, while all the burials dated to the Qin-early western Han period are concentrated in the right side of the *x* axis. Nearly all the burials dated to the mid-late Warring States period are instead displayed in the left side of the *x* axis (fig. 6.12).

The graph for the grave goods (fig. 6.11) shows the association between the grave SFM53 with the types Pe and F.CI at the top end of the *y* axis, as well as with the types FZ.Ib and Gf.BIa further down. The wheel-thrown jars (Gf.BI [fig. 4.15], Gf.A [fig. 4.13]), the more technologically refined version of the *fu* type (F.CI) and the basin (Pe) are all vessels associated to a later date. The anomalous position of the burial SFM39 is due to its limited assemblage composed of one steamer FZ.Ib, one *ding* type Dg.Ia and one *dou* vessel. The position of the graves SFM33 and SFM27 is also due to the inclusion of the basin Pe and the steamer FZ.Ib with only one or two *dou* or round-base jars. A much clearer differentiation in pottery assemblages is instead shown along the *x* axis: on the right side the pottery types include flat-base jars of small (Gf.A) and large (Gf.C, Gf.D, H.Ia) dimensions together with large round-base jars (Gr.AII) and shallow *dou* vessels (D.AIII); on the left side there are short (D.AI) and high (D.CII) stemmed *dou* with round base jars (Gr.AI) and *fu* (F.B, F.A).

From the above description we can deduce that the differences in pottery assemblages are in many cases chronologically sensitive, and are often associated with differences in burial types (rectangular pits and *guo* vs. boat coffins). However, in figure 6.10 (right quadrants) it is possible to note the presence of boat coffins dated to the mid Warring States period (SFM2, 7, 23) and to the Warring States (SFM26, 57), and of a square pit dated to the early Warring States period (SFM25). Except for the graves SFM26 and SFM 57, for which a secure dating cannot be given, the others are clustered in this position because of the presence of flat-base jars Gf.A and steamers FZ.Ib, together with round-base *fu* and jars. This evidence shows that, despite the existence of consistent general trends, clear-cut associations cannot always be made between grave goods and burial types. Cultural boundaries are thus not clearly defined in all cases.

The third run of the analysis (sol. 3) was undertaken on a more limited sample, deleting the burials with single occurrences and placed in anomalous positions: the burials SFM27-33-39-45-51-53 and the pottery types *ding* (Dg.Ia), *pen* (Pe) and *fu* (F.CI). The sample thus included 45 burials and 15 variables and it gave the following results:

Table 6.6 Shifang burials/pottery types (sol.3)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.570	.327	.308	.301	2.664
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	21.4	33.7	45.2	56.5	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					2.664

Figure 6.13 shows boat coffins and elongated pits mainly concentrated at the left of the *y* axis and rectangular pits and *guo* burials at the right end; the graves dated to the mid-late Warring States period are mainly clustered in the left quadrants, while in the right quadrants there are all the burials of the end of the Warring States and Qin period, except SFM25 (fig. 6.14). This chronological distinction seems to show a gradual decrease in the use of boat coffins and elongated pits in the late Warring States period and the adoption either of simple rectangular or square pits with no coffins or much more elaborated *guo* graves; the rectangular pits, which were also adopted during the previous periods in small percentages, are thus the main alternative to the *guo* burials, which do not appear in the early-mid phases of the Warring States period and are traditionally viewed as funerary customs of the Central Plain (Qin) and eastern Sichuan (Chu). The *guo* graves were not however uniformly adopted by the population, and their pottery assemblages still include typologies adopted in boat coffins of the previous periods (Gr.AII and F.A). It seems that a more drastic change in funerary customs was initially achieved in the external lay-out of the tomb, and only later became visible in the assemblages of pottery vessels which maintained a local character until the early Western Han period. This evidence suggests that strict associations between cultural assemblages and groups cannot be easily made, since burials can show a mixture of apparently contrasting attributes. In this case it is possible to suggest that some members of the community adopted a new funerary custom, traditionally ascribed to the Qin culture of the Central Plain and previously unknown in the area, but still making use of the local pottery vessels. These could have been local people assimilating a new mortuary layout for the graves, but more likely immigrants of high rank (possibly soldiers) from the Central Plain settled in the area after the Qin conquest but rapidly integrated in a strong and still lively local tradition. We will see how Shifang more clearly maintained a local tradition if compared with other Sichuan sites.

6.1.3 Yingjing cemeteries

The total number of pottery vessel assemblage from the sites in Yingjing (Tongxincun, Nanluoba and Zengjiagou) was selected for an intra-site analysis. The vessels (tot. 778) were divided into 29 variables (obtained from merging 66 categories) and were from 42 burials, after excluding 81YGM13-15, 85YTM1-3-4, 87YTM1 and

87YTM4 for which complete records were not available (for the full list see appendix 6.1). The first CA run (sol. 1) had the following results:

Table 6.7 Yingjing burials/pottery types (sol.1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.584	.438	.390	.222	3.171
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	18.4	32.2	44.5	51.5	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.171

The graphs displaying the burials (figs. 6.15, 6.17 and 6.18) show clear clusters of grave types, period and sites, suggesting the adoption of different pottery assemblages in the various cases considered. The main distinction is visible between the sites of Tongxincun (86YT) and Nanluoba (88YL) (fig. 6.17): the first group of burials is clustered at the left of the *y* axis (top/bottom left quadrants) and is mainly composed of boat coffins and elongated pits with only two rectangular pits (86YTM1-2) (fig. 6.15); the Nanluoba group is instead clustered at the right side of the *y* axis (fig. 6.17) and is mainly composed of rectangular pits with only one boat coffin and one elongated pit (fig. 6.15). Another small group is composed of three burials of Zengjiagou (81YGM11-12-16) in the top right quadrant of figure 6.17; the graves are *guo* encasements and rectangular pits. An anomalous position is instead occupied by the burial 83YGM21 in the top left quadrant and the grave 87YTM2 in the top right one.

If we compare these clusters with the graph displaying the grave goods (fig. 6.16) we notice some clear distinctions in the selection of pottery vessels. The large flat-base storage jars Gf.B (fig. 4.15) and Gf.C (fig. 4.18) are only used in the site of Tongxincun (86YT), as the type Gf.DI-II (figs. 4.19-20), which is also present in all the burials in Zengjakou. The small flat-base jars Gf.F-G (fig. 4.26) are exclusively used in Nanluoba, together with an example of jar with handles (Gfh), and in the grave 87YTM2 in Tongxincun. The pottery vessels imitating bronze *fu* (Fh) and *mou* (MIa-b) were only found in Tongxincun and the only example in Nanluoba has a tail-pattern on the handle not found in the other vessels. The *dou* in Tongxincun are mainly composed by the types D.A and D.B (figs. 4.37-38), also found in Nanluoba, but do not include the type D.E (fig. 4.41) of Nanluoba which seems a clear local adaptation of the *dou* vessel. The basin (Pe) was also mainly found in the Tongxincun graves. In both sites, on the other hand, there is a large use of round-base *fu* and *guan* (Gr/Gr.AI/F/F.A/F.B) which are a characteristic local production for the Warring States period until the Western Han dynasty.

The patterns of pottery vessels thus show a major differentiation between mortuary assemblages composed by different types of *dou* vessels (D.E/D.F), round base jars and small flat-base jars (Gf.A/Gf.F-G) and those adopting large storage vessels (Gf.B/Gf.DI-DII) and pottery versions of the bronze *fu* and *mou* (Fh/M.Ia-b). These variations are not convincingly explained with the differences in chronology attributed to the two sites (mid and late Warring States period); the standard cultural affiliations (Ba, Shu, etc.) are on the other hand not applicable. It is highly likely that in this case other factors are influencing the choice of mortuary practices; these might be differences in social affiliation, status or even gender (see section on bronze weapons 6.2.3 and conclusions). As for the Zengjiagou burials, they contain drastically different pottery assemblages, which do not include *dou* vessels, but only a few round base *fu* and jars and a higher number of large storage vessels. The burials are mainly *guo* graves filled with white clay and were dated to the early Warring States period (although revised to the late period). In this case it is clear the will to differentiate this group from the others; it is likely that the deceased were immigrants of high rank, possibly coming from the Central Plain, and willing to maintain their own social and cultural identity and not to conform to the local culture (as in Shifang). Although in this case a standard cultural association could eventually be made (*guo* burials, flat-base jars, white clay, Qin people), the local dynamics of interaction are only detectable if looking at differences and anomalies in goods and graves associations within sites and between sites.

6.2 ANALYSIS III: WEAPON TYPES

The analysis on weapon types is similar to the one undertaken on pottery vessels since it can provide chronological seriation at the regional and local level. It also helps to assess the correlation between classes of bronze weapons and burial types, and to test the existence of standard associations between material assemblages and groups of people. The analysis was undertaken on the whole dataset of the region and on three individual cases: the Shifang cemetery in the Chengdu Plain, the Yingjing sites in south-west Sichuan and the Dongsunba cemetery in south-east Sichuan.

6.2.1 Sichuan region

The original number of 208 burials containing 1279 bronze weapons was reduced to 187 burials deleting all the items collected from uncontrolled contexts (77JJ, 80JJ, 80Pzcoll, 87Ytcoll, 72EF) and all the graves not fully reported as 83CSM1-3, 85YTM1-3, 87YTM3-4, 92CLM19-21-22-24, 95GZM19-22 and 24, 97ZGYBM3 and 97ZGYBM23. The 47 original variables were limited to 42 types: the classes D.IIb-D.III-D.IV were merged in the same class D.II (figs. 4.84-86), while the *jian* shafts (Shaft), the handle covers for *mao* (S) and *ge* (Zn), the single *ji* halberd (E), the bow's components (Bw, BwC), the helmets (HM) and the arrows (Zu) were deleted. The sample analysed was thus composed of 182 graves (the graves 78FYM1, 78MQM1, 81YJM1, 95MSM2, SFM5 only contained a few items from those deleted) and 753 weapons, divided into the 38 types referring to the four classes *ge*, *mao*, *jian* and *yue* (for the full list see appendix 4). The first CA run of Canoco (sol. 1) gave the following results:

Table 6.8 Sichuan burials-weapon types (sol.1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	1.000	.893	.705	.593	11.234
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	8.0	16.0	23.1	28.4	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					11.234

Figure 6.19 shows the isolated position of the burials 92CLM16, 92CLM34, SFM66-67 and 54BDM67 at the top of the *y* axis and of the grave 82DWM4 at the end of the *x* axis; in the graph displaying the grave goods the same pattern is repeated with the *yue* type D.V (fig. 4.87) and the *mao* type BIII (fig. 4.72) at the top of the *y* axis and the *mao* type BIV (fig. 4.73) at the end of the *x* axis. The first four burials are all *guo* graves dated to the early Western Han period, except 92CLM34 dated to the Qin period; they contain a limited number of weapons and only the types above-mentioned D.V and B.III. The grave 82DWM4 is instead a boat coffin dated to the early Warring States period on the basis of its pottery vessels and only containing one *mao* type (B.IV). The first four burials belong to a late stage in the funerary tradition of the region when the adopted weapons were limited to a small percentage of the total amount of the grave goods and only include a few types not found in the earlier periods. The results of the analysis showed in this case patterns due to differences in chronology. These

observations were thus deleted for the following analysis (sol. 2), leaving a sample of 179 burials and 36 variables. The results are the following:

Table 6.9 Sichuan burials-weapon types (sol. 2)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.707	.577	.511	.466	8.226
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	8.6	15.6	21.8	27.5	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					8.226

The graph displaying the burials and the associated weapon types (figs. 6.20) shows a cluster of graves at the end of the *x* axis (54BDM32, 54, 64, 77) which all contain one *yue* type D.VI (fig. 4.88); other two burials (54BDM65 and 76) are also in a more isolated position as they both contain one weapon D.VI with, respectively, two other decorated items and one *jian* type of Chu/Yue style. The *yue* type D.VI, which is also contained in two burials of Yunyang (97LJM34 and 41), is thus clearly associated and limited to south-east Sichuan, although a quite similar example was found in the grave SFM25 in the Chengdu Plain.

The first two runs of this analysis showed the anomalous position of a few weapon types that are either single occurrences in the whole sample (B.IV) (fig. 4.73) or contained the only examples in a restricted number of burials (B.III, D.V, D.VI) (fugs. 4.72, 4.87, 4.88). The analysis was thus seriously affected by the limited number of some of the types; since its aim was to give a general outline of the relationship between burial types and weapon assemblages in the region, all the types comparing only one or two times in the sample were deleted and more carefully discussed in the sections referring to the individual sites (6.2.2, 6.2.3 and 6.2.4). The sample thus restricted included 172 burials and 27 variables, and the results were the following:

Table 6.10 Sichuan burials/weapon types (sol. 3)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.576	.511	.463	.441	6.109
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	9.4	17.8	25.4	32.6	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					6.109

The graph showing the clusters of weapons (fig. 6.21) and of chronological periods (fig. 6.22) displays the association between certain classes of weapons, occurring more occasionally, and the groups of burials containing them. The classes of *jian* types (C.IIIb, C.IIIc, C.IIId) (figs. 4.80, 4.81, 4.82) and the *ge* type (A.IVd)(fig. 4.63) belonging to the Central Plain or the Chu/Yue traditions are all clustered in the

bottom right quadrant and associated to rectangular pits and *guo* burials of later periods (Qin to Han dynasty). The isolated position of a group of burials in Baxian Dongsunba in the right top quadrant of figure 6.22 is due to the frequent use of the *yue* D.III (fig. 4.85) as one of the main components of the assemblage. The main bulk of the burials is concentrated at the intersection of the axes and associated to the remaining classes, mainly weapons with zoomorphic motifs of local manufacture. At this level of the analysis, only general trends, affected by differences in chronology or local customs, could be detected in the patterns of the graphs.

6.2.2 Shifang cemetery

The sample from the cemetery of Shifang has been analysed in order to explore the relationship between burial types and assemblages of different bronze weapons over a long period.

Table 6.11 Shifang burials/weapon types (for the legend see chap. 4.3.2)

burial ID	T	AI	AII	AIII a2	AIII a3	AIVa1 IVb	AIVc	AIVd	BIa	BIIa	BIIb	BIIb3	BIII	CI	CIIa/b	CIIIa	CIIIc	DI	DIIa	DII/III/ IVb	DIIIa	D IVa	DV	DVI	T
SFM25	sP	2				2			3						3			1	1					1	13
SFM30	BC				1					1															2
SFM69	BC									1					2										3
SFM1	BC	1		1		1			2		2	1			4					1		1			14
SFM2	BC								2	1					1					1					5
SFM4	BC			1																					1
SFM7	BC			1						3					2					1					7
SFM23	BC	1		1						3	1				2					1					9
SFM27	BC									1															1
SFM33	BC								1																1
SFM36	BC																			1					1
SFM68	eP									1															1
SFM10	rP					1			1						2					1					5
SFM22	rP									2					1						1				4
SFM51	rP																				1				1
SFM3	BC														1										1
SFM14	BC	1				1				3					2					1					8
SFM45	BC									1					2										3
SFM63	BC									2															2
SFM16	eP					1									2					1					4
SFM17	eP																			1					1
SFM38	eP								1	5	3				2										11
SFM39	eP									1															1
SFM49	eP		1	1										1	1	1				1					6
SFM52	eP					1	1			1					1					2					6
SFM54	eP					1										1						1			3
SFM50	G							1		2	1				1					1					6
SFM24	rP										1														1
SFM59	rP						1			1															2
SFM61	rP									1											1				2
SFM21	rP																1								1
SFM66	G												1										2		3
SFM67	G																						1		1
		5	1	5	1	8	2	1	10	30	8	1	1	1	29	2	1	1	1	13	3	2	3	1	130

The overall number of weapons is 143, distributed in 34 burials out of 42 and divided into four main classes (*ge*, *mao*, *jian* and *yue*) and 25 types (for the full list see appendix 5.2). For a preliminary outline of the weapon assemblages the types A.Ia and A.Ib were merged, as well as the types A.IVa1 and A.IVb, while two secondary classes (*zun* and arrows) were not included in the analysis, leaving a sample of 130 weapons, 33 burials and 23 types. In the table 6.11 the burials have been ordered into five different chronological periods, as given in the report, and by grave types.

The site of Shifang includes quite a large range of weapon types whose selection, number and association vary over time and within each period. The largest variety of weapons is contained in the square pit SFM25 of the early Warring States period (tot. 13 - 7 types), in the boat coffins SFM1 (tot. 14 - 9 types) and SFM23 (tot. 9 - 6 types) of the middle phase, in the elongated pit SFM38 (tot. 11 - 4 types) and in the boat coffin SFM14 (tot. 8 - 5 types) of the late phase, and in the *guo* coffin SFM50 (tot. 6 - 5 types) of the Qin period. These graves are mainly boat coffins, except for one elongated pit, which can be considered as belonging to the same tradition, and for one *guo* dated to a much later period. The large quantity and variety of weapons contained in some of the burials suggest that they might have been elite graves in which weapons were used as distinctive symbols of rank and prestige; many examples found in the richest tombs, like DI (fig.4.83), DII (fig. 4.84) and DIV (fig. 4.86) in SFM25, or BIIb2 in SFM1 are single occurrences that further characterise these burials from the others; they might have been imported or acquired items.

The remaining graves have an average number of one to six weapons; the types mainly belong to the type *mao* BIa (fig. 4.64-66) for the early-mid Warring States period, and to the *mao* type BIIa (figs. 4.67-70), BIIb1-2, to the *jian* type CIIa-b (fig. 4.78) and to the *yue* type DII/III/IV (figs 4.84-86) for the entire phase. The *ge* are less in number and decrease over time from triangular-shaped types decorated with volutes and *taotie* masks (AI [figs. 4.50-52], AIIIa3 [fig. 4.57]) to non-decorated versions with a *hu* (AIVa1/IVb) (figs. 4.59-60). The analysis on the original sample made of 33 graves and 23 variables gave the following results:

Table 6.12 Shifang burials/weapon types (sol. 1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	1.000	1.000	.636	.565	6.457
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	15.5	31.0	40.8	49.6	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					6.457

Figure 6.23 shows a strong association along the *x* axis between the tomb SFM21 and the *jian* type C.IIIc (fig. 4.81), and along the *y* axis between the burials SFM66 and SFM67 and the types B.III (fig. 4.72) and D.V (fig. 4.87); this pattern is strongly deviant from the main bulk of the burials which is concentrated at the intersection of the two axes. If we look at the grave goods assemblages of the burials, we can see that the rectangular-pit grave SFM21, dated to the early Western Han period, contains only one specimen of bronze weapons, the *jian* type C.IIIc, which is an example generally attributed to the Chu/Yue tradition (Thote 2001: 246). In the same tomb there are *bazhu banliang* coins, which can be dated to a period following the unification of the empire under the Western Han dynasty, and iron objects for daily necessities, like a sickle (*lian*), a plough (*li*), a knife (*xiao*) and a fork (*cha*), which relate this tomb to the same late period and to a cultural context where iron objects were already largely substituting bronze items. Its position on the graph thus marks its difference as regard the number and type of bronze weapons in comparison to the other graves, and can be explained with a change in chronology and cultural context after the formation of the Han dynasty.

As for the *guo* burials SFM66 and SFM67, they are also characterised by distinct bronze weapons, the *mao* arrow-shaped type B.III (the only specimen is in tomb SFM66) and the *yue* type D.V (two in SFM66 and one in SFM67), which are all shown in an isolated position in the graph displaying the weapon types (fig. 6.23). These two classes of bronze weapons, both undecorated, mark a substantial difference with the other specimens of the site and can be attributed either to a slightly later period or to different funerary customs as expressed by other features of the graves. The wooden encasements in these two burials are both covered with white clay, an unusual feature in the Shifang site where only two other graves (boat coffins SFM3 and 32) display the same characteristic. The tomb SFM67 also contains an iron *mou*, and both burials SFM66 and SFM67 show the adoption of large storage jars, all decorated with cord pattern, and a substantial use of wooden and lacquer objects.

As regard the pottery vessels in burials SFM21, SFM66 and SFM67 (see paragraph 5.3.2) they do not seem to be substantially different from those dated to an earlier period, like the *dou* with a short stem and the *guan* jar with corded pattern. A variation may be seen in the preference given to large storage jars, including the *weng* types in SFM67, and to their recurrent association with small lacquer objects. As already noted in the section devoted to pottery, it is likely that these graves belonged to

immigrants coming from the Central plain and adopting a new funerary custom previously unknown in the area. Such difference, however, did not greatly affect the pottery grave goods, which appear still consistent with the local tradition.

In the second run of the same analysis (sol. 2) the late burials SFM66, SFM67 and SFM21 were deleted, together with the weapon types B.III, D.V and C.IIIc, leaving a sample of 31 graves and 22 variables. The results were the following:

Table 6.13 Shifang burials/weapon types (sol. 3)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.636	.565	.537	.462	4.346
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	14.6	27.6	40.0	50.6	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					4.346

The graph displaying the burial types (fig. 6.24) shows the elongated-pit graves SFM49 and SFM54 in the top left quadrant and the grave SFM51 in the top right quadrant clearly separated from the main bulk of burials which include a quite even distribution of boat-coffins, rectangular and elongated pits, and a *guo* grave. The reason for these two clusters is due to the weapon assemblages characterising the burials, as shown in the graph displaying the weapons (table 6.25). The burial SFM49 contains the only specimens of the *ge* type A.II (fig. 4.53), the only one of the *jian* type C.I (fig. 4.77) decorated with a highly stylised dragon pattern, together with the *jian* type C.IIIa (fig. 4.79) which is characterised by a clear separation bwteen the blade and the handle. The only other specimen of the same type (C.IIIa) has been found in SFM54, together with an undecorated *ge* type A.IVb (fig. 4.60) and the *yue* type D.IV (fig. 4.86). The graves SFM61 and SFM51 are separate due to the presence of the *yue* type D.III (fig. 4.85), which is the only bronze weapon in SFM51 and one of two in SFM61.

The grave SFM49 has been dated to the second phase of the late Warring States period on the basis of pottery classification (also see paragraph 5.3.2). The presence of the *jian* type C.IIIc, traditionally linked to the Qin culture, and of an iron object also seem to suggest a late date, while the use of rarer bronze weapons like the *ge* types A.II and A.IIIa2 (fig. 4.56) seem to be more associated to the social affiliation of the deceased. Another significant item is the *jian* type C.I, decorated with a dragon pattern vaguely reproducing the zoomorphic motifs of the Chengdu Plain but in a static and extremely stylised style; the makers were probably culturally distant from the context where it was originally produced. This evidence seems to suggest an on-going process of change where the deceased adopts items inspired by a local consolidated tradition of

bronze weapons decorated with zoomorphic motifs and by archaic weapon types more closely connected to the Central Plain culture. Fixed cultural boundaries cannot easily be applied in this case, while an attempt to construct and negotiate a new identity seems to be under way.

The burial SFM54, dated instead to the first phase of the late Warring States period, shows similar characteristics in the use of weapon types more linked or inspired to the Central Plain tradition (*jian* C.IIIa and *ge* A.IVb). Their association with a seal carved with symbols suggest that the deceased might have possessed an official rank in the local administration, although still maintaining or chosing to reinforce a strong link with a different cultural context; the use of an elongated pit, more connected with the local tradition of boat coffins, is the evidence of the acquisition of a different mortuary tradition.

In the third run (sol. 3) the burial SFM54 was deleted, together with the weapon types A.II, C.I and C.IIIa, leaving a sample of 29 graves and 23 variables. The results were:

Table 6.14 Shifang burials/weapon types (sol. 3)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.628	.539	.482	.370	3.641
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	17.3	32.1	45.3	55.5	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.641

The graph displaying the burials and the associated weapon types (fig. 6.26) show a strong association between the burials SFM51, SFM 61 and SFM22 in the top right quadrant and the weapon type D.IIIa. All the three specimens of this weapon are in the above-mentioned burials: SFM51 contains only this kind of weapons, SFM61 together with the *mao* B.IIa, and SFM22 with other weapons, like the *mao* B.IIa and the *jian* C.IIb. The three graves are all rectangular pits and, like all the others in the site, only contain certain kinds of *yue* types (like D.III) (fig. 4.85) but never the types D.II/III/IVb which are mainly associated to boat coffins and elongated pits. The same burials, however, contain the decorated *mao* B.IIa which seems more directly linked with the boat-coffin tradition. The grave SFM30 was associated in the bottom right quadrant with the *ge* type A.IIIa3 (fig. 4.57), which is a single occurrence in this burial.

In the fourth run (sol. 4) the burials SFM30, SFM51 and SFM61 and the weapon types D.III and A.IIIa3 were deleted, reducing the sample to 27 burials and 17 variables. The results were as follows:

Table 6.15 Shifang burials/weapon types (sol. 4)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.547	.374	.346	.269	2.573
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	21.3	35.8	49.2	59.7	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					2.573

The distribution of the burials in the produced graph was strongly biased by the single occurrences within the sample. The pattern did not show at this stage a clear correspondence between burial types and weapon types, or with the dating proposed in the report, suggesting that the choice of specific weapon types remained quite consistent along the Warring States period, except for those burials where a larger variety of types, including the rare items mentioned above, was adopted probably as prestige symbols (SFM25, SFM1, SFM23, SFM14, SFM38). The clearest differences noted in the Shifang sample are in the latest burials, like SFM21, SFM66 and SFM67, dated to the early Western Han period, or SFM49 and SFM54, dated to the late Warring States period, where I pointed out how the adoption of unusual weapon types combining local and non-local traits seems to suggest an on-going process of adjustment and negotiation of identities, which prevent the identification of clear-cut cultural boundaries and groups.

6.2.3 Yingjing sites

The sample for the Yingjing sites includes 27 burials and 94 weapons divided into 19 variables (*ge*, *mao*, *jian*, *yue*, arrows, *zun* and a halberd)(for the full list see also appendix 6.2); the graves outlined in red are those for which the absolute number of all the grave goods is not available.

The burials in Yingjing Tongxincun (85YT, 86YT, 87YT) have all been dated to the late Warring States period, while those in Nanluoba (88YL) to the middle phase; the grave 81YJM1 had been given a general dating to the Warring States period.

As I noted in paragraph 5.1.3 the Tongxincun and Nanluoba sites show a clear differentiation as regard the grave good assemblages, which include only a limited amount of bronze weapons in Nanluoba, and, as regard the burial types, mainly boat coffins in Tongxincun and rectangular or elongated pits in Nanluoba. Among the four burials containing weapons (88YLM1-2, 9-10), grave 88YLM1 has the most items (tot. 11) and the largest variety (six types), very similar to those found in the burial

86YTM21a (tot. 13 and eight types), which is also one of the oldest burials at the Yingjing site; the types A.IIIa4 (fig. 4.58) and A.Ivb (fig. 4.60) were also only found in these two burials. All the other graves have a variable number of weapons (1 to 8), but of a much more limited range of types, like the *ge* A.IVa2 (fig. 4.61), all decorated with tiger motifs and limited to the Yingjing area, the *mao* types B.Ia1 (figs. 4.65-66) and B.IIa (fig. 4.67) and the *jian* type C.Iib (fig. 4.78). The internal differentiation of the graves within the two sites might indicate the existence of social stratification, where the graves 88YLM1 and 86YTM21a possibly belonged to a deceased of high rank, while the other burials were used by members of lower ranks in the community. In the case of Nanluoba, however, the bronze weapons were used in only four burials (88YLM1, 2, 9, 10) out of 11, and in a very limited number except 88YLM1, while in Tongxincun they were buried in 14 graves out of 26. Although some weapon types are shared by both boat coffins and rectangular pits, others are more clearly associated with rectangular pits, like the *jian* C.I (fig. 4.77), C.IIa (fig. 4.78), the *mao* B.V (fig. 4.74) and all the *yue* (D.IV [fig. 4.86], D.VIII [fig. 4.90]); the only example of *mao* A.Ivc (fig. 4.62), usually associated to the Qin culture, was also found in the rectangular pit grave 86YTM1. All the other rectangular pits (86YTM2-3) and elongated pits (86YTM11-12, 15, 5, 8) in Tongxincun and those in Nanluoba did not contain any weapons. Among the boat coffins, only the graves 86YTM4, 14, 17 and 25 do not have bronze weapons.

Table 6.16 Yingjing burials/weapons types (for the legend see chap. 4.3.2)

burial ID	typ	AIIIa4	AIVa2	AIVb	AIVc	AIVd	BIa1	BIIa	BIIb2	BIIc	BV	BVI	CI	CIIa	CIIb	DIVa	DVII	E	Zn	Zu	TOT
81YJM1	sP																		2		2
85YTM1	rP		1					1					1								3
85YTM2	rP												1								1
85YTM3	rP							1			1						1				3
85YTM5	rP													1						2	3
86YTM1	rP				1	1	2					1									5
86YTM13	BC								1												1
86YTM16	BC								1			1			1					1	4
86YTM18	BC															1					1
86YTM19	BC		1				1	1							1				1	1	6
86YTM20	BC							2							1					1	4
86YTM21a	**BC**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**		**3**	**2**					**1**		**2**						**13**
86YTM21b	BC						1								1						2
86YTM22	BC							1							1						2
86YTM23	BC								1												1
86YTM24	BC		1				1	3							2					1	8
86YTM6	BC		1																		1
86YTM7	BC								1						1			1			3
86YTM9	BC				1			2							1						4
87YTM1	rP		1												1						2
87YTM2	rP														1					3	4
87YTM3	rP							1							2						3
87YTM4	rP									1											1
88YLM1	**rP**	**1**	**1**				**1**	**4**							**3**	**1**					**11**
88YLM10	eP		1					2							1						4
88YLM2	rP												1								1
88YLM9	rP							1													1
		2	9	1	3	1	9	21	4	1	1	2	4	1	19	2	1	1	3	9	94

This evidence suggests the existence of a differentiation between the sites of Tongxincun and Nanluoba as regards the choice of burial types (boat coffin vs. rectangular pits) and grave goods; however, these variations are not clear-cut and cannot easily be explained with the existence of different cultural groups in the area. Deceased of high rank, buried in a boat coffin in Tongxincun and in a rectangular pit in Nanluoba, share in fact a similar quantity and selection of bronze weapons, which were probably a symbol of status and prestige for the local elite. Mid-rank burials show instead a clearer differentiation of burial types and grave goods in the two sites; this evidence might suggest a difference in social affiliation or gender among the deceased.

The same sample was analysed with CA, leaving the four main classes of weapons (*mao*, *jian*, *ge*, *yue*) and merging in the same category the only two *yue* types D.IV and D.VII, the *ge* types A.IVb and A.IVc, and the *mao* types B.IIa and B.IIb2, leaving a sample of 26 burials and 14 variables (tot. weapons 81). From this sample the weapon types C.IIa, B.IIc and B.V, all single occurrences, were deleted, together with the two rectangular graves which contained them, 87YTM4 and 85YTM5, thus reducing the sample to 24 burials and 11 variables. The results were the following:

Table 6.17 Yingjing burials/weapon types (sol. 1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.599	.538	.457	.256	2.345
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	25.5	48.5	68.0	78.9	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					2.345

Figure 6.27 shows a cluster composed of boat coffins and rectangular pits, and a few isolated graves, which are all rectangular pits except for 86YTM18. Their anomalous position is due to the presence of rare occurrences of *yue* types, the *jian* type CI, the *ge* type A.IVd and the *mao* type B.VI (fig. 4.76) (table 6.28). These anomalies stand out against the relatively consistent composition of the weapon types in nearly all the boat coffins.

6.2.4 Dongsunba cemetery

The 66 burials of the Dongsunba cemetery in Baxian, south-east Sichuan, were also analysed as a separate sample. A total of 122 bronze weapons was found in the site, distributed in 47 graves (seven boat coffins, 13 elongated pits, 21 rectangular pits, two

square pits, one elongated pit with coffin and one rectangular pit with coffin) all dated to the late Warring States period. The 21 weapon types include occasional occurrences of the types A.II (2) (fig. 4.53), A.IVd (1) (fig. 4.63), B.Ia1 (1) (fig. 4.65), B.VI (1) (fig. 4.76), CI (1) (fig. 4.77), DI (1) (fig. 4.83), DV (1) (fig. 4.87) and a high number of the classes B.Iia (figs. 4.67-68), C.IIb (fig. 4.78) and D.III (fig. 4.85) which are present in nearly all the graves. The types Hm (helmet), S (*mao* shaft), Zn (*Zn*) and Zu (arrows) were not considered for the analysis, leaving a sample of 114 weapons.

Table 6.18 Dongsunba burials/weapon types (for the legend see chap. 4.3.2)

burial ID	type	AII	AIVb	AIVd	BIa1	BIIa	BVI	CI	CIIb	CIIIb	CIIIc	DI	DIIb	DIIIa	DV	DVI	TOT
54BDM16	BC													1			1
54BDM3	BC		1						1					1			3
54BDM35	BC						1		1			1		1			4
54BDM42	BC								1					1			2
54BDM49	BC					1			1		1			2			5
54BDM50	BC		1			2			2					1			6
54BDM9	BC	1				1			3					2			7
54BDM1	eP					1								1			2
54BDM10	eP		1											1			2
54BDM11	eP	1				1			2					2			6
54BDM18	eP								1								1
54BDM2	eP													1			1
54BDM32	eP															1	1
54BDM4	eP		1			1			1					2			5
54BDM43	eP													1			1
54BDM5	eP													1			1
54BDM51	eP					1			1				1				3
54BDM6	eP				1				1					2			4
54BDM68	eP													1			1
54BDM8	eP												1				1
54BDM31	rP								1					1			2
54BDM33	rP			1		1			1					1			4
54BDM34	rP					1			1								2
54BDM37	rP					1			1								2
54BDM39	rP					1			1					2			4
54BDM46	rP													1			1
54BDM48	rP					1											1
54BDM52	rP					1			1					1			3
54BDM53	rP					1			1								2
54BDM54	rP															1	1
54BDM55	rP					1			1								2
54BDM56	rP		1			1				1			1				4
54BDM57	rP													1			1
54BDM58	rP					1			1					1			3
54BDM59	rP												1				1
54BDM60	rP					1			1								2
54BDM65	rP					1		1								1	3
54BDM7	rP								1					1			2
54BDM73	rP					1				1							2
54BDM76	rP									1						1	2
54BDM78	rP					1			1								2
54BDM36	sP					1			1								2
54BDM64	sP															1	1
54BDM67	sP														1		1
54BDM77	sP															1	1
54BDM84	ePc					1			1					1			3
54BDM85	rPc					1			1					1			3
		2	5	1	1	25	1	1	30	3	1	1	4	32	1	6	114

If compared with the sites in Yingjing, the cemetery of Baxian Dongsunba shows a less marked stratification in terms of quantity and variety of weapons: each grave, no matter the type, contained an average of 3-4 weapons and the repetitive

association of the types B.IIa1, CIIb and D.IIIa. Only eight *ge* were found in the whole site, and the *yue*, which is only occasionally found in the Yingjing area, is contained in nearly all the graves. A single occurrence of *jian* made in the Chu/Yue style (C.IIIc) was found in only one of the boat coffins. The cemetery of Baxian has been traditionally associated to the Ba-Shu culture, together with the site of Guangyuan Zhaohua in north Sichuan, due to the presence of boat coffin and weapons with zoomorphic motifs and symbols. In fact, the cemetery includes different types of graves, all with a limited and fixed number of weapons, and not necessarily the most representative of the so called "Ba-Shu" culture. What seems to characterise the cemetery is instead the repetitive pattern of the burials with weapons, in terms of quantity and layout, which might suggest that the deceased were all mid-rank members of a military group as opposed to elite groups making use of much more elaborated patterns; the same pattern was found in Guangyuan Zhaohua. Other burials in the same site were instead found without weapons, and they probably belonged either to other members of the community or, more likely, to women.

6.3 ANALYSIS IV: BRONZE WEAPONS AND DECORATION

This analysis was used to identify the existence of consistent typological groups sharing morphological and decorative attributes. The results were also used to assess the preference given to certain symbolic motifs on specific classes of bronze weapons.

Tables	data source	analysis
bronze weapons + decorative motifs	- region	- CA: classification

The weapons were divided into 33 types (see chapter 4), excluding the categories A and C which respectively refer to the general classes *ge* and *jian*. In the course of the analysis the weapon types were divided into larger groups ("classified" according to Canoco language), which refer to a more general context ("Ba-Shu", Chu, Qin, Central Plain). This procedure allows a visual display of some standard associations and an assessment of the existence of crosscutting patterns for some specific classes. The groups are listed in table 6.19.

Table 6.19 Classes of weapon types

type	group	types included
I	archaic types (Central Plain tradition)	A.Ia, A.Ib. A.IIIa1, A.IIIa2
II	local types ("Ba-Shu")	AIIIa3-4, A.IVa1-2, B.Ia1/2, B.IIa, B.IIb1/2, C.IIa/b, C.IIc
III	non-local types (mainly Qin/Chu/Yue)	A.IVb, A.IVc-d, C.IIIa-d
IV	rare types	A.II, B.Ib, B.IIb3, B.IIc, B.III-VI, C.I, C.IIc

The decoration types include 50 variables (see chapter 4) which were combined into 33 categories (for a summary of motifs and related figures see table 4.5): the volute pattern (1 and 22) (figs. 4.52/4; 4.64/5), the single symbols (15, 18a-g) (fig. 4.68/11), the zoomorphic mask (2a-b) (fig. 4.52/3), the *taotie* mask (3a-b) (figs. 4.52/4, 4.54/7), the geometric motifs (5 and 7) and the zoomorphic motifs representing dragons and tigers (6.I-II-IV) (fig. 4.61/4, 4.64/11, 4.67/2), birds (6.V-VI) (fig. 4.64/1) and hybrid figures (6.VIII-X-XII) (figs. 4.69/2, 4.64/6, 4.57/2) . In the course of the analysis the resulting types were grouped into different classes sharing common attributes; they are listed in table 6.20. Group I, including the *taotie* pattern and the volutes, refers to the motifs similar to those used on earlier bronze vessels and commonly found in the Central Plain and in other regions of Central China. The motifs in the groups II, III and IV are instead characteristic of the region and are often referred to as representative of a "Ba-Shu" culture; the zoomorphic designs (6.I-XII)(figs. listed above) are considered one of the peculiar trait of the bronze production of the region, together with the symbolic compounds (12) (fig. 4.77/1) which include all the combinations of different pictographs and symbols (*fuhao*) in some studies identified as an ancient form of script.

Table 6.20 Classes of weapon decoration

type	group	types included
I	*taotie* and volutes	1, 22, 3a, 3b, 6.VII, 21
II	zoomorphic motifs	6.I-VI, 6.VIII-XII
III	symbols	12, 15/18
IV	"tiger-fur" pattern and semicircles	8, 9
V	*leiwen* pattern and lines	13, 19, 20
VI	geometric and stylised motifs	5/7, 14a/b, 27
VII	inscriptions and characters	25, 4
VIII	no decoration	0
IX	rare occurrences	2a/b, 10, 11, 16, 23, 24, 26

The same motifs could also be used individually in combination with zoomorphic figures (type 18)(fig. 4.68/9). It is assumed that this set of motifs was

adopted as a means of characterising and stressing the affiliation to a certain cultural environment, although with differences according to the social group concerned, and that this process took place during the mortuary practices when the representation of the deceased, as an individual and as a member of the community, had to be performed and fulfilled. Group VII includes both the inscriptions written in ideograms and combinations of local symbols used as characters.

The first CA run was undertaken on a sample of 35 weapon types and 33 decoration types (for the full list see appendix 7). Although significant patterns were detectable, a second CA run was undertaken on a more restricted sample deleting the general categories A (*ge*) and C (*jian*), the single occurrences (17 and 6.IX) and all the unrecorded items (28). The resulting sample thus had 33 weapon types and 30 variables. The results were the following:

Table 6.21 Weapon types/decoration (sol. 1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.640	.496	.384	.355	3.607
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	17.7	31.5	42.1	52.0	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.607

The graph displaying the decoration types (fig. 6.30) shows four main clusters. The first one in the top left quadrant includes all the zoomorphic motifs characteristic of the region and generally referred to as "Ba-Shu" motifs (6.I-XII except 6.VII), single symbols (15/18) and the *leiwen* pattern (13); type 11 only occurs two times and always in association with the other motifs. The second cluster in the top right quadrant includes "archaic" motifs like *taotie* masks (3a/b), volutes (1/22, 21) and dots in high relief (16) (fig. 4.54/9), together with simple lines usually used to decorate the *ge* handle (19, 20) (figs. 4.50/3, 4.50/5) and painted circles for the same weapon's blade (10) (fig. 4.51/3). The third group on the right side of the *x* axis includes simple geometric or stylised motifs (5/7, 14b, 23) (fig. 4.80), inscriptions (25) (fig. 4.63/3) or lack of decor (0); the type 6.VII in the same group is dissimilar to the other zoomorphic motifs and appears only in rare cases. The fourth cluster includes motifs which are usually found in association on *jian* weapons: tiger-fur pattern (8), semicircles (9) (fig. 4.78/1), *fuhao* compounds (12) (fig. 4.77/1) and rarer stylised motifs (26, 27) (4.77/1).

Comparison of fig. 6.30 to fig. 6.29, which displays the weapon types, shows similar clusters but also the presence of cross-cutting patterns in the combination of weapon types and their decoration. In the top left quadrant are all the *ge* and *mao* types

usually decorated with zoomorphic patterns (A.III3-4, A.IVa2, B.Ia1/2, B.IIa, B.IIb1/2), together with the single occurrence B.Iib2 (fig. 4.70) which is associated to the decor type 24 in figure 6.30. The second group in the top right quadrant comprises the types A.Ia (figs. 4.51-52) and A.Ib (fig. 4.54), which reproduce archaic shapes from the central plain and are mainly associated to the corresponding "archaic" motifs (1/22, 21, 3a/b) in figure 6.30; the type A.II (fig. 4.53) occurs only twice and always in association with these motifs. The third large cluster along the right section of the *x* axis includes non-decorated or lightly decorated weapons, which can be types more related to the Central Plain tradition (A.IVb-d) (figs. 4.60-63), rare occurrences (B.Ib, B.IIc, B.III-VI) (figs. 4.75, 4.71, 4.72-76) or types similar to the Qin tradition (C.IIIc-d) (figs. 4.81-82). In the same group the types A.IVa1 (fig. 4.59) and C.IIc, represented with red circles, can be considered unusual categories: type A.IVa1 is the undecorated version, generally found in Chengdu and in the Chengdu Plain, of the decorated type A.IVa2 which was discovered all over the region. The type C.IIc is an anomalous *jian* version most probably of local origin, like C.I. The presence of the types A.IIIa1 and A.IIIa2 is mainly related to their lack of decoration.

The fourth cluster is composed by the *jian* types C.IIa/b, generally associated to the *fuhao* compounds, the "tiger-fur" pattern and the semicircles (14, 8, 9 in fig. 6.30), and by the types C.IIIa (fig. 4.79) and C.IIIb (fig. 4.80) which can be considered a local version of the Qin types C.IIIc-d (figs. 4.81-82).

Figures 6.29-30 show that the bronze weapons found in the Sichuan region display a combination of local, archaic and non-local traits which can result in a number of relatively clear-cut typological classes with recurrent associations of shapes and decorative motifs, but also in less well-defined typologies which overlap the expected pattern. The *mao* and *ge* in the top left quadrant constitute the most favourite weapon types for the display of zoomorphic and symbolic motifs, while the *ge* types A.Ia-b are exclusively associated to the archaic motifs of *taotie* and volutes. The non-decorated types include all the "Qin/Chu style" *ge* and *jian* and rare occurrences of different kinds of *mao*, while the local *jian* types C.IIa-b are nearly exclusively associated to the *fuhao* symbols. These main clusters are however cross-cut by types which are not necessarily associated to any individual group; an interesting case is represented by the types A.IVa1 and A.IVa2 which share the same morphology but are respectively non-decorated and decorated with zoomorphic motifs. Another case is exemplified by the

jian types C.IIIa-b which are similar to Qin style *jian* but decorated with the local *fuhao* compounds.

6.4 ANALYSIS V: BURIAL TYPES AND WEAPONS DECORATION

This analysis aimed to assess the existence of a relationship at a regional scale between distinct classes of decorative motifs and burials, considered in relation to their types and geographical distribution. This analysis also directly addresses the problem of the standard associations between burial types, cultural attributes (weapon decoration) and groups of people (Ba, Shu, Qin), since it emphasises the lack of clearcut links between these categories.

Tables	data source	analysis
burials + decorative motifs	- region	CA: patterns

6.4.1 Sichuan region

The analysis was undertaken on a sample consisting of all the weapon types *ge*, *mao* and *jian*. The original number of 778 weapons distributed in 168 burials was reduced to a sample of 570 weapons found in 164 burials after deleting all the items collected from uncontrolled contexts (77JJ, 80JJ, 80Pzcoll, 87Ytcoll, 72EF) and those for which any information on decoration was given. Graves not fully reported (83CSM1-3, 85YTM1-3, 87YTM3-4, 92CLM19-24, 95GZM21 and 97ZGYBM3), already deleted in the previous analysis on bronze weapons, were instead kept in this case, since the absolute number of the grave goods within the burial was not supposed to alter the results of the analysis. Thirty-two variables refer to the weapon decoration after merging categories which were found to be similar; for example, the zoomorphic mask (2a-b), the *taotie* mask and its stylised version (3a-b), the volutes (1-22), all the individual symbols (18a-g and 15), the geometric motifs (5 and 7) and a few zoomorphic designs (6.I-II-IV; 6.V-VI, 6.VIII-X-XII) (for the figures related to the single motif see table 4.5). The result is a sample was of 135 burials and 32 variables (for the full list see appendix 8). In the first run of the analysis, category 28 (not recorded information) was deleted, as were the classes 10 (painted circles), 11 (spine in relief), 16 (circles in high relief), 17 (cross), 23 (concave line), 24 (holes on the blade)

and 26 (ribbons with circles) which occurred in very rare cases, thus further limiting the sample to 24 variables. The first run gave the following results:

Table 6.22 Sichuan burials/weapon types (sol. 1)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.514	.475	.444	.397	4.551
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	11.3	21.7	31.5	40.2	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					4.551

In the graph displaying the decoration types (fig. 6.31) in the first run three main clusters are visible: the one at the top of the *y* axis is composed by the types 14a, 20 (stylised motifs) and 25 (inscription), the second one in the top right quadrant is made of the classes 3a-b (*taotie* masks), 1/22 and 21 (volutes), 19 (lines) and 6.VIII/X/XII (rare zoomorphic motifs), the third one in the bottom left quadrant includes all the most used zoomorphic motifs (6.I/II/IV, 6.III, 6.V/VI, 6.XI), the individual symbols (18/15), the *fuhao* combinations (12), the *leiwen* motif (13) and some geometric motifs (5/7). These three groups were more clearly differentiated in the second run of the same analysis (sol. 2) in which the type 27 was deleted, together with the burials SFM3 and 54BDM56 exclusively associated to this rare type. This run (sol. 2) gave the following results:

Table 6.23 Sichuan burials/weapon types (sol. 2)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.480	.453	.400	.347	4.032
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	11.9	23.1	33.1	41.6	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					4.032

The graph displaying the decoration types (fig. 6.32) shows one cluster at the left end of the *x* axis, composed of the various zoomorphic motifs and symbols, a second one in the bottom right quadrant, including the *taotie* and volutes motifs, and a third one in the top right quadrant made of *fuhao* similar to characters (4) and inscriptions (25), together with the 0 type referring to the lack of decoration. This pattern helped in identifying some recurrent associations of decorative motifs: all the zoomorphic designs are usually found with *leiwen* pattern and *fuhao* symbols, while the archaic motifs such as *taotie* and volutes are generally associated to simple incised lines on the handle (19-20). Inscriptions (25) or individual symbols used like characters (4) are instead found isolated or with other items having no decoration (0). These patterns, already found in the analysis involving the weapon and decoration types (see section 6.3), were

compared with the graphs showing the type, chronology and geographical area of the burials. No clear-cut association could be found between decoration types and corresponding burial types, location or period, although in the graph displaying the burial types (fig. 6.33) a major differentiation is visible between the burials of the south-west area (red circles) in the left quadrants and those of the Chengdu area (black asterics) in the right quadrants. The results of the analysis were however affected by the exclusive presence of one decoration type in some of the burials; they were thus deleted in the third run (sol. 3) leaving a sample of 93 graves and 23 variables. The results were the following:

Table 6.24 Sichuan burials/weapon types (sol. 3)

Axes	1	2	3	4	Total inertia
Eigenvalues	.469	.378	.360	.309	3.606
Cumulative percentage variance of species data	13.0	23.5	33.5	42.0	
Sum of all unconstrained eigenvalues					3.606

The graph displaying the classes of decoration (fig. 6.34) shows a pattern similar to the first and second run: in the bottom left quadrant there are all the main zoomorphic motifs, the *leiwen* pattern and the individual symbols (18/15), in the bottom right quadrant there the archaic motifs and the volute pattern (3a/b, 1/22, 19, 21), at the top of the *y* axis there are the inscriptions and in the left top quadrant the association of *fuhao* symbols (12) and "tiger-fur" pattern (8-9) characteristic of the *jian* weapon.

The graph displaying the geographical areas of the burials (fig. 6.35) shows an interesting pattern composed by the intersection of four zones (Chengdu, Chengdu Plain, SW and SE). The Chengdu burials are nearly all distributed along the *x* axis in the bottom right and left quadrants; they thus share the use of archaic motifs and zoomorphic symbols, but not of *fuhao* patterns. The graves in south-west Sichuan are instead strongly associated to both the zoomorphic motifs and the *fuhao* symbols but not to archaic patterns. The burials in the southeast and in the Chengdu Plain are more evenly distributed, except in the bottom right quadrant where the archaic motifs are concentrated. This pattern shows how certain categories of weapon decoration were not necessarily found in the expected burial types; in fact, their use is quite varied and seem more related with the social affiliation of the deceased (elite, military class) and partly with the geographical area.

6.5 CONCLUSIONS OF ANALYSIS II-V

The analysis of pottery vessels (par. 6.1.1) has resulted in an assessment of the chronological significance of a specific pottery type: the anomalous position of a number of graves containing the *zhan* vessel, such as the burials of Baihuatan (64CBM10), Wuxian (63CWM1), Jinyucun (92CJM1) and Zhongyi Xueyuan (80CZM1), all located in Chengdu city, was connected to chronological factors and to the early date of the burials. It was also noted that the assemblages of these graves are mainly characterised by bronze weapons and vessels, thus suggesting the close association of the small ritual vessel *zhan* with these categories of items. The burials SFM25-11-56 and 69 in Shifang were also given an early date. The general patterns identified in the composition of the pottery assemblages (figs. 6.4-6) showed a major change over time: a more technologically refined pottery, usually thrown on the fast wheel and with simple parallel lines as decoration was generally used in *guo* burials or simple rectangular pits dated to the Western Han dynasty, while local round-based vessels with impressed cord pattern and small bowls and cups, most probably connected with the performance of rituals, were used in the boat-shaped coffins and simple rectangular pits of earlier periods (Warring States).

The analysis of the Shifang site (par. 6.1.2) showed a less drastic shift in the pottery vessel types: the *guo* graves of the late period (early Western Han) still contained round-base *guan* and *fu* (Gr.AII and F.A) of local tradition which were generally used in the boat coffins of the previous periods. In the case of Shifang, which seemed to have maintained over time a strong local flavour in the pottery assemblages, a major change in funerary customs is more clearly visible in the external lay-out of the burials, and specifically in the gradual decrease of boat coffins and elongated pit in the late Warring States period and in the adoption of simple rectangular or square pits with no coffins or much more elaborated *guo* graves, which are however a small percentage within the cemetery, in a later period. This evidence was associated to the existence of a small group of immigrants, probably of high rank, who imported a new funerary customs but assimilate the local ceramic production.

The analysis of the Yingjing area sites (par. 6.1.3) emphasised the same patterns found in the analysis of all their grave goods (par. 5.2.2.2) and especially the distinction between the pottery assemblages of Nanluoba, Tongxincun and Zengjiagou: the first characterised by small vessels (jars and various types of *dou*), the second by a larger

variety of vessels including round-base and storage jars, and the third by flat-base jars with no traits of a local tradition. This evidence cannot be explained with any standard cultural association but strongly suggest the existence of different social and cultural groups, at various degrees of integration. In some cases they are markedly divided, as those in Zengjiakou, probably high rank immigrants, and those in Nanluoba and Tongxincun of local origin. In some other cases they share the same sets of grave goods, as the elite groups of Tongxincun and Nanluoba, or they are separated in the choice of certain classes of objects, as in the other burials of the same two sites.

The analysis of bronze weapons (par. 6.2) complemented some observations made in the previous chapter (par. 5.2.1.1) where I differentiated between the graves containing bronze ritual vessels and weapons with archaic motifs, like the large burials in Xindu (80XMM1) and in Mianzhu (76MQM1) in the Chengdu Plain or those in Chengdu (64CBM10/73CXM1), and the graves only containing weapons with local zoomorphic motifs, like those in Shifang, Baolunyuan (north Sichuan), Yingjing (SW) and Dongsunba (SE). These graves were related to different elite groups active in the Chengdu Plain, and variously exposed to the influence of the Central Plain metallurgical tradition or to contacts and exchanges with the Chu areas. We have also seen how the number and layout of weapons in graves might be evidence of social affiliation or gender, thus again crosscutting the traditionally accepted cultural associations. Correspondence analysis applied on the whole sample of burials also showed a clear shift in the selection of weapon types in the later periods, when a more limited quantity of weapons was used and restricted to undecorated or non-local types like the *jian* C.IIIb, C.IIIc, C.IIId and the *ge* type A.IVd belonging to the Central Plain or the Chu/Yue traditions.

A specific case showing the chronological significance of certain weapon types is given by the site of Shifang (par. 6.2.2) where the burials SFM21, SFM66 and SFM67, dated to the early Western Han period, contains very few weapons, and all belonging to a non-local tradition: the *jian* type C.IIIc, attributed to the Chu/Yue tradition, the undecorated *mao* arrow-shaped type B.III and the *yue* type D.V. These items are clearly dissimilar from the majority of the weapons decorated with zoomorphic motifs and contained in most of the burials; the variations in absolute quantity and number of types were tentatively connected with the existence of a social stratification within the community differentiating the burials SFM25, SFM1, SFM23, SFM14, SFM38 from the others. The presence of hybrid forms of weapons decorated

with stylised zoomorphic motifs, like in the burial SFM49 and SFM54 of the late Warring States period, has been taken as evidence of the possible different cultural origin of the deceased, possibly an officer trying to acquire local customs. No weapons with archaic motifs, like the above-mentioned examples in Chengdu and in the Chengdu Plain were found in Shifang, which seems to have fairly consistent typologies apart from those of the last period of the site.

The case of Yingjing (par. 6.2.3) showed a clear differentiation between the sites in the area, especially Tongxincun and Nanluoba, as already noted in the discussion of their grave goods (par. 5.2.2.2) and pottery types (6.1.3). The internal variations within each site as regard the number and variety of weapons have been interpreted as evidence of social stratification, where the rectangular grave 88YLM1 in Nanluoba and the boat coffin 86YTM21a in Tongxincun might have belonged to deceased of high rank, and where I stressed the existence of a similar quantity and selection of bronze weapons. Apart from this common trait shared by a restricted elite, the two sites differ in many respects: bronze weapons were adopted in only four burials at Nanluoba, while they were much more common in the boat coffins of Tongxincun. The choice of weapons also differed by burial type (boat coffins or rectangular pits), which suggests the existence of different social, and maybe ethnic, groups settled in the same area and probably involved in different kinds of activities. The individuals of high rank in both sites (86YTM21 and 88YLM11) seemed instead to share a similar cultural background, especially in the significance given to weapons as symbols of status and affiliation.

In the case of the site of Baxian Dongsunba (par. 6.2.4) the 47 burials (out of 66) containing bronze weapons show a highly standardised set of types, mainly the *mao* B.IIa1, the *jian* C.IIb and the *yue* D.IIIa, all of local manufacture. The general consistency in the quantity (limited to an average of 2 to 4) and variety of types suggest the lack of marked social stratification among the individuals buried with weapons and the existence of a common cultural background. This part of the cemetery might well have belonged to members of the same class of soldiers, possibly of mixed origin, but sharing the same set of items as symbols of their social status. Variations in the mortuary practices are more visible in the different lay-out of the burials (boat coffins, elongated pits and rectangular pits) that however do not entirely conform with the expected grave types (boat coffin, elongated pits) usually associated to this part of Sichuan and to the Ba culture.

The analysis of the bronze weapon decoration (par. 6.3) attempted to define typological groups by looking at the relationship of the morphological attributes and decorative motifs of the weapons. The combination of traits results in quite clear-cut types, although a few significant anomalies that overlap the expected pattern of local/non local traits were identified in the sample. These decoration types were associated to the grave types in an attempt to assess the existence of a significant relationship between the two variables (par. 6.4). The related graphs showed the preference given to certain decorative motifs in specific areas: for example, the use of archaic motifs is limited to the Chengdu Plain, although in some case combined with zoomorphic symbols, while *fuhao* patterns are rare in the same area. The graves in southwest Sichuan are instead strongly associated to both zoomorphic motifs and *fuhao* symbols and never to archaic patterns. This evidence seems to suggest that the use of a certain set of archaic motifs was limited to specific centres in Chengdu city and in the Plain and possibly to specific elite groups, but never developed in other areas of the region where other forms of representation were preferred.

The sets of analysis undertaken on different material classes and burials have attempted to identify the main characteristics of the funerary assemblages in the region and their changes over time. I have noticed how the general trends in nearly all the areas tend to have unique features in specific contexts or periods which may related to the existence of different social or cultural groups, often coexisting in the same area, and having their own modalities of expressing status, wealth and social affiliation.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

The theoretical framework inspiring my research questions and introduced in chapter 1 is specifically related to issues of identity, boundaries and social interaction, and to the relevance of these concepts for the interpretation of global trends and local variations identified in the archaeological record. My main aims were on the one hand to outline the limits of the culture-historical perspective and to question the attribution of specific cultural traits to distinct "archaeological cultures", and, on the other hand, to detect from the discontinuities of the archaeological record the existence and interaction of different, albeit cross-cutting, social and cultural groups, variously associated by similarities in social affiliation, status, wealth, ethnic or cultural origin.

The mortuary remains dated to the pre-imperial and early imperial period in Sichuan have offered an interesting case to discuss the application of the concept of "identity" as opposed to that of "archaeological culture", largely applied to the region. The studies devoted to the funerary evidence in the whole region have generally suggested the existence of major cultural spheres and funerary practices, which could be identified in the use of boat coffins, *guo* graves or simple pits without coffins, or in the combination of specific classes of funerary items, like decorated bronze weapons, ritual vessels, pottery, lacquer or seals. These contributions have thus usually made reference to specific traits which could be associated to one or more "archaeological cultures" (Ba, Shu, Ba-Shu, Qin, Chu) and to their peoples (Zhao 1983a, Song 1998a). The most recent western contributions on the same funerary production have on the other hand emphasised the mixture of local and non-local traits in the region and the frequent interactions between different cultural domains, like the Chu and Qin cultures as opposed to the local Ba-Shu tradition (Thote 2001). In either case, distinct aspects and elements of the mortuary practices in the region have generally been associated to a particular cultural sphere and its people.

The theoretical and methodological approach of this study, instead, in addition to a cultural-historical perspective taken in its more descriptive function of identifying cultural influences and exchanges, has tried to suggest an alternative and more

articulated approach, which highlights the internal variations of the funerary assemblages and attempts to recognise their significance and implications in the wider framework of social dynamics and practices. The identified variability has been linked to dynamics of adjustment, negotiation and redefinition of cultural and social identities, taking place at a regional and local scale. The analysis undertaken in this study has shown that those specific traits in the treatment of the dead, variously associated to a certain cultural sphere, were in fact often overlapping and drawn together in different combinations, thus preventing the recognition of clear-cut cultural boundaries between material assemblages. The term of reference "archaeological culture" has thus been substituted by the concept of cultural and social identities, which refer to those individuals or collective groups sharing similar beliefs, behaviour, status, class, religion, age, gender or ethnicity, and continuously reaffirming or negotiating their own identification/differentiation as individuals or groups through social practice (Jenkins 1996). In this perspective different individual and collective identities were not clearly separated from each other, but continuously crosscutting and interacting, while the material expression of their social behaviour might have been shaped in a variety of different combinations.

In the case of ancient Sichuan, these dynamics were probably emphasised by the social and political changes affecting the region during the late Warring States period, specifically the conquest of the Shu state, centred in the Chengdu Plain, by the Qin kingdom in 316 BC, and the final integration of the whole region into the newly formed Qin Empire in 221 BC. In chapter 2 (section 2.3) I have outlined the major administrative, economic and demographic changes taking place during the III century BC as part of the integration plans of the Qin kingdom, and particularly the massive relocation of people (soldiers, peasants, prisoners and a few aristocratic families) from the Central Plain to north and central Sichuan, the intensification of agriculture and the setting up of a new administrative system. All these changes most probably affected the existing social composition and internal stratification of the urban centres, to different degrees and with different implications according to the geographical area and the social agents involved (local elite, soldiers, colons). The high level of social mobility and change and a possible higher degree of uncertainty and lack of stability perceived within the communities might have involved a transformation of the self-perception of individual and group identities at a regional and more local scale, producing different reflections in their external "reified" expression and in the local material production. In

some cases the change might have led to a reinforcement of a group identity in opposition to a perceived social transformation, in some other cases a process of negotiation and redefinition of group identities could be detected from the adoption and combination of different cultural traits.

The specific dynamics characterising this process of change are however not always apparent in the material evidence, since they took place in the mobile, fluid and often intangible dimension of social practice in which the mechanisms of formation and maintenance of identities and "boundaries" between groups and the perception of their similarities/differences were probably continuously changing and negotiated according to what was recognised as significant by the group members in a particular context and at a particular time. We have seen in chapter 1 how the concept of "ethnic identity" as developed by Barth (1969) clearly addresses this problem, since he defines identity not as "the sum of 'objective' (or "reified") differences but only of those which the actors themselves regard as significant" (Barth 1969: 14). The wider adoption of the terms "identification" and "differentiation" in the discussion of social, ethnic and cultural identities (Emberling 1997: 300, Gardner 2002: 336) also implies a tendency to look at the definition and transformation of group identities as a dynamic process, taking place in the social practice and interaction of their members. The dialectic of identification and the relationships of similarity and difference between individuals and social groups have been specifically addressed in the sociological domain by Jenkins (1996), largely inspired by the works of Barth (1969) and Bourdieu (1977). In the archaeological domains the concept of "identity", the dynamics of reproduction and transformation of social and cultural groups and their material expression have been specifically discussed in various works devoted to the theme (Emberling 1997, Jones 1997, Wells 1999, Gardner 2002) and extensively addressed in the literature on frontiers and boundaries (Green-Perlman 1985), social boundaries (Stark 1998) and style (Carr and Neitzel 1995) discussed in chapter 1. These studies have emphasised the changing and mobile dimension of identities and social boundaries, but they also attempted to address archaeological cases in which the use and association of certain elements and the identified patterns could be interpreted as indicators of dynamics of reproduction and negotiation of identities.

In this work I specifically dealt with mortuary remains, which are the visible and only partial material evidence of the whole dimension of funerary ritual. In the section devoted to funerary archaeology in chapter 1 (1.3) I have stressed how the physical

remains (burials, grave goods, inscriptions) and the immaterial or non-permanent expressions of the ritual (chants, processions, flowers, performed ritual, participants) can be strongly influenced by a variety of different factors related to the social dimension of the deceased or to the ideology and symbolism attached to the after-life dimension. In this study a clear preference was given to the identification of the social and cultural domain affecting the funerary practices, looking at the mortuary context as a place where information regarding affiliation, status or cultural origin could be shaped in a number of codified components or in the level of standardisation as regards the choice and combination of certain grave goods types (Bartel 1982, Wason 1994, MacHugh 1999). These elements, however, did not form fixed, repetitive and closed assemblages, but were constantly affected by the social practice within which they were produced. In the Sichuan region repetitive patterns have been recognised in a number of cases (cemeteries of Shifang, Dongsunba or Zengjiagou clusters), but always in association with more or less visible variations within and/or between sites, which were linked and interpreted as evidence of an ongoing process of interaction between different social and cultural identities.

From a methodological point of view, my attempt to identify overlapping patterns of behaviour in the material remains of mortuary practices was conducted through successive analytical stages, involving an initial "fragmentation" of the main components of the mortuary remains (burial types, pottery, bronze weapons/vessels/objects, ornaments, iron, lacquer, weapon decoration) and a subsequent analysis of their associations at a regional and local scale. The qualitative and quantitative analysis was undertaken on the whole dataset of burials and funerary assemblages of the region divided into four main areas of reference (Chengdu and Chengdu Plain, north Sichuan, south-east Sichuan and south-west Sichuan); for each area the peculiar characteristics of its sites were outlined.

The analysis presented in chapters 5 and 6 tried to highlight the temporal and spatial variations of mortuary practices using the categories and the classification system outlined in chapter 4. The basic idea was to separate the most significant (and available) elements composing the material expression of the funerary practice, like grave types, objects types and decoration motifs, into individual categories consistent for the whole region. The presence/absence of these variables, their quantity and variety were analysed in the first section of chapter 5; this operation provided a comprehensive outline of all the funerary assemblages in the region, divided into four major

geographical areas, and helped to identify the main variations between and within sites and to give a preliminary evaluation of general trends characterising the various clusters of burials (global/regional scale).

The second analytical step, undertaken with the use of correspondence analysis, aimed to explore the associations (or lack of associations) of these selected categories, combining two sets of variables at a time (burials/grave goods, burials/pottery, burials/weapons, weapons/decoration and burials/decoration). This was an attempt to isolate anomalies or major trends within the funerary assemblages, looking at those categories considered more significant as chronological indicators (especially pottery) or as evidence of cultural and social change. The choice of running the analysis on individual classes of material was also determined by the fact that the application of correspondence analysis on a sample composed of too many variables, as in the case of all the grave good types, seriously limited the validity of the results and tended to blur possible patterns.

The same correspondence analysis was also applied on two selected samples: the site of Shifang in the Chengdu Plain and the cemeteries of the Yingjing area in south-west Sichuan which could provide long chronological phases (Shifang) or a larger variety of burial clusters (Yingjing) and thus a better evaluation of chronological or spatial variations within these two areas. In one case the cemetery of Baxian Dongsunba was also considered for an intra-site analysis (local scale).

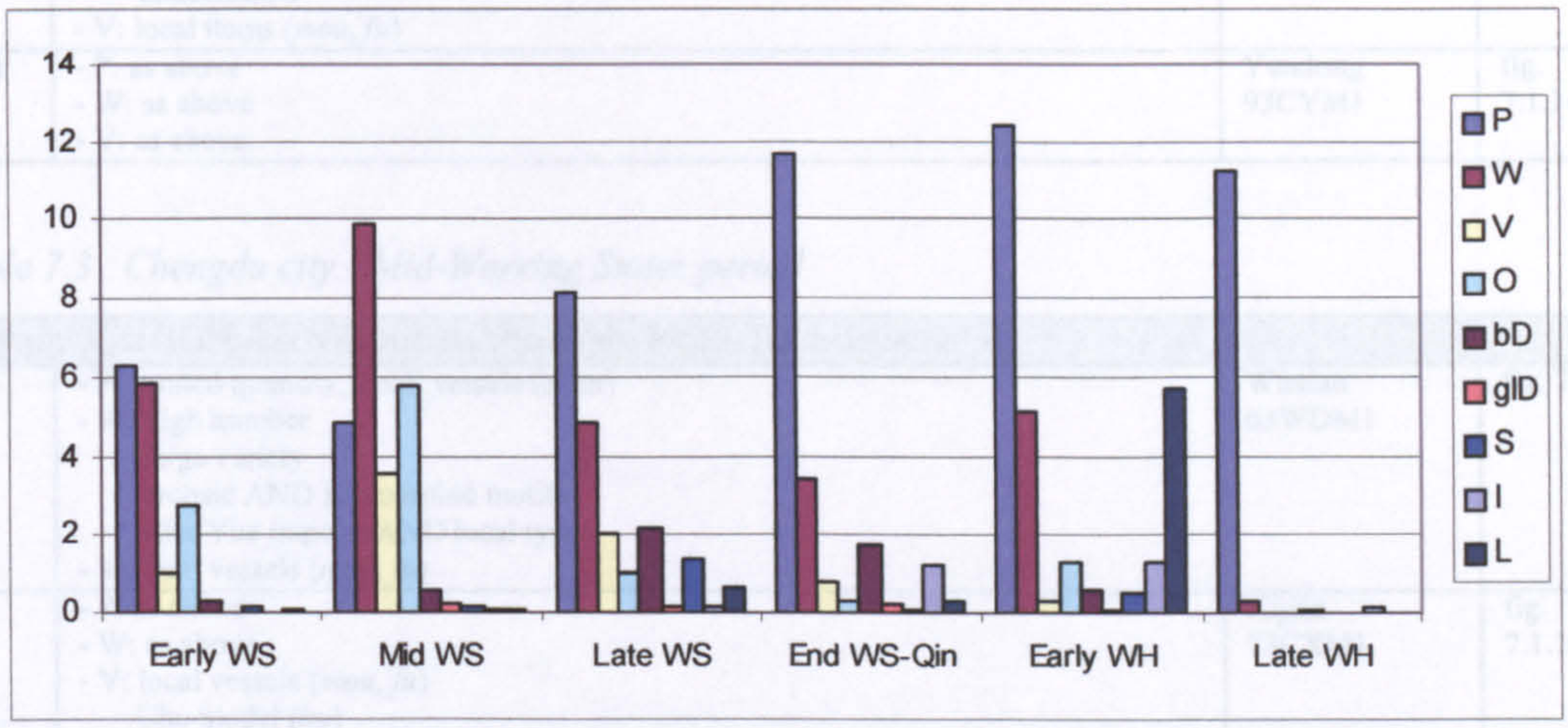
These sets of analysis showed how the general/global trends investing nearly the whole region, like the gradual shift from the use of bronze weapons and/or ritual vessels to the adoption of pottery, lacquer and iron items, acquired peculiar features in specific contexts and periods according to the different social composition and stratification of the communities in the individual areas. In some cases it was possible to draw a diachronic change in the mortuary practices of specific places; in some other cases the lack of a secure chronology, and particularly the difficulty in associating the data to a clear chronological framework, made difficult the evaluation of the elements affecting the change, whether chronology or social factors. The analysis was however significant to identify patterns of mortuary practices and social behaviour in different areas of the region, which were interpreted as evidence of horizontal and vertical differentiations within and between sites, and were associated to the regional or local trends in social practice.

7.1 CHENGDU PLAIN

The comparison of the different grave good classes used in each period in Chengdu and in the Chengdu plain has shown the existence of general diachronic trends in the composition of funerary assemblages. The earlier periods were characterised by the large use of bronze items, especially weapons and vessels, gradually substituted by pottery and iron objects at a later stage; bronze seals had only a limited use in the late Warring States period (table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Relative percentages of grave good classes in each period

	P	W	V	O	bD	glD	S	I	L
Early WS	38%	36%	6%	17%	2%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Mid WS	19%	39%	14%	23%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Late WS	40%	24%	10%	5%	11%	1%	7%	1%	3%
End WS-Qin	59%	17%	4%	2%	9%	1%	1%	6%	2%
Early WH	45%	19%	1%	5%	2%	0%	2%	5%	21%
Late WH	95%	3%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%



P	pottery	glD	glass/jade/bone/gold ornaments
W	bronze weapons	S	seals
V	bronze vessels	I	iron objects
O	bronze objects	L	lacquer objects
bD	bronze ornaments		

The different funerary assemblages of the area showed however many variations as regards the quantity and variety of buried items and the choice of specific grave types, suggesting the existence of a quite articulated scenario in terms of horizontal and vertical differentiations. In the early Warring States period the boat coffin of Baihuatan in Chengdu (64CBM10) (fig. 7.1.13) clearly stands out for the quantity and variety of

bronze weapons and vessels (tot. 48), similar to the one unearthed in the smaller elongated-pit grave (tot. 20) of Zhongyi Xueyuan (80CZM1) (fig. 7.1.7) (table 7.2, group A). In the following period (mid-Warring States) similar funerary assemblages can be found in the elongated-pit burial of Wuxian Dianjixie (63CWM1) (fig. 7.1.8) and in the rectangular pit of Xijiao (73CXM1), both in Chengdu (table 7.3, group A).

Table 7.2 Chengdu city - Early Warring States period

Group A HIGH RANK burials (possibly local elite/aristocracy)			
BC	- P: limited quantity, small vessels (*zhan*) - W: high number, large variety local types archaic MORE THAN zoomorphic motifs - V: local types (*mou*, *fu*) imported models (*hu*)	Baihuatan 64CBM10	fig. 7.1.13
eP	- P: as above - W: as above - V: local types	Zhongyi 80CZM1	fig. 7.1.7
Group B Social group possibly composed of soldiers			
ePc	- P: limited quantity, small vessels (*zhan*) - W: high number undecorated - V: local items (*mou*, *fu*)	Luojianian 87CLM1-2	fig. 7.1.12
ePc	- P: as above - W: as above - V: as above	Yundong 93CYM1	fig. 7.1.14

Table 7.3 Chengdu city - Mid-Warring States period

Group A HIGH RANK burials (possibly local elite/aristocracy)			
eP	- P: limited quantity, small vessels (*zhan*) - W: high number large variety archaic AND zoomorphic motifs Chu/Yue imports AND local types - V: local vessels (*mou*, *fu*)	Wuxian 63WDM1	fig. 7.1.8
rP	- P: as above - W: as above - V: local vessels (*mou*, *fu*) Chu model (*hu*)	Xijiao 73CXM1	fig. 7.1.10
Group B Social group possibly composed of soldiers (NO use of archaic motifs)			
BC	- P: small vessels (*zhan*) - W: more limited number than group A zoomorphic motifs ONLY - V: no vessels	92CJM1 Jinyucun	fig. 7.1.4
Group C Social group possibly composed of soldiers (NO use of zoomorphic-archaic motifs)			
Wa	- P: fragments - W: more limited number undecorated - V: local types (*mou*)	93CGM1 Jinshaxiang	fig. 7.1.3
eP	- P: local types (*zhan*, *fu*) - W: undecorated - V: local types (*mou*, *fu*)	94CSM5 Shuili Shejiyuan	fig. 7.1.9

All the graves in group A (tables 7.2-3) share the adoption of bronze weapons with archaic motifs (volutes, *taotie* masks) and shapes inspired by the Western Zhou tradition in the Central Plain, together with local weapons decorated with zoomorphic designs; only one example of *jian* from the middle-lower Yangzi region was found in

Wuxian Dianjixie (SWGW 1982: 30, fig. 4.8). The bronze vessels found in these burials generally included items of local productions (*mou* with loop handles), rare examples of imported goods, like the *hu* in Baihuatan, probably produced in the Houma foundry of the Jin state in the Central Plain (Thote 2001: 219), and vessels inspired by Chu models, like the *hu* in Xijiao (SB 1983: 598, fig. 2.4).

In the same mid-Warring States period extremely rich graves containing elaborate assemblages of bronze weapons and vessels were built in the Chengdu Plain outside Chengdu: the boat coffin of Mianzhu Qingdao (76MQM1), dated to the first half of the V cent., and especially the *guo* of Xindu Majia (80XMM1), dated between 350 and 316 BC (Thote 2001: 215) (table 7.4, group A).

Table 7.4 Chengdu Plain -Mid-Warring States period

Group A	HIGH RANK burials (possibly local aristocracy, connection with Central Plain and Chu traditions)		
BC	- P: limited quantity - W: high number archaic AND zoomorphic motifs local AND Chu/Yue types - V: local types (*mou*, *fu*) Chu types (*hu*, *ding*,*lei*)	Mianzhu (76MQM1)	fig. 7.2.4
G	- P: as above - W: as above - V: local types (*mou*, *fu*) Chu types (*hu*, *ding*, *yan*, *fou*) - S: few	Xindu Majia (80XMM1)	fig. 7.2.8
Group B	MID-RANK burials (no clear connection with Central Plain and Chu traditions)		
BC	- P: local types (*fu*, *zhan*) - W: limited number zoomorphic/symbolic, NO archaic motifs local types - V: no vessels	Pengxian (80PTM1)	fig. 7.2.5
eP	- P: as above - W: as above local types + Chu/Yue *jian* - V: as above	Dayi Wulong (82DWM3)	7.2.10
BC	- local pottery (*guan*, *dou*) - W: limited quantity undecorated - V: no vessels	Pujiang (82PDM1-2)	7.2.12

The two burials show the presence of a large variety of weapons with both archaic and zoomorphic motifs, together with *jian* of the Chu-Yue tradition (SB 1981: 15, fig. 36; SB 1987, fig. 13.12) and ritual vessels, either of local production (*mou*, *fu*), made after Chu models (*hu*, *ding*, *yan* and *fou* in Xindu, SB 1981: 6, 7, 14; *hu*, *lei*, *ding* in Mianzhu, SB 1987: 23-24), or maintaining archaic traits of the Western Zhou period (*lei*, ibid.: 14, fig. 30).

Looking at all the above-mentioned burials a major differentiation can be noticed between their grave assemblages and those of other burials of the same early

and mid Warring States period, characterised instead by the prevalence of locally produced pottery and bronze vessels, and of weapons left undecorated (87CLM1-2, 93CYM1, 93CGM1 and 94CSM5 in Chengdu) (table 7.2, group B; 7.3 group C) or with zoomorphic designs (92CJM1 in Chengdu and 82DWM3 in Dayi) (table 7.3, group B).

These variations are likely to be associated with vertical and horizontal differentiations within the area, and with different modalities of representation of social affiliation or individual identity. The burials containing a large variety of weapon types with archaic and zoomorphic motifs together with ritual vessels, both locally made or inspired by Chu models, suggest the existence of an elite class that could have access and control over a wide range of products, local and imported, and that probably displayed bronze weapons and ritual vessels as symbols of status and group identity (tables 7.2-7.3, group A). We have seen how the presence of "Chu" elements in the funerary assemblages of Sichuan has been attributed by Chinese scholars to the advent of the Kaiming clan coming from the Jing and Chu areas (present Hubei-Hunan regions) to Chengdu around the middle of the Warring States period (SB 1980:11). Particularly the burial of Xindu Majiaxiang has been taken as evidence of the close contacts between the Shu and the Chu states (Thote 2001: 214). The funerary assemblages of these burials certainly differentiated them from the others found in Chengdu and in the Chengdu Plain, where a prevalence of locally produced pottery and bronze vessels were found and the weapons were left undecorated or with the local zoomorphic motifs (tables 7.2-7.3, group B; table 7.4, group B-C).

The choice of the burial types is also significant in this regard: boat coffins were more often found in the Chengdu Plain, in the sites of Mianzhu (76MQM1), Dayi (82DWM4), Pujiang (82PDM1-2), Pengxian (80PTM1) and also Xindu (80XMM1), if considering the boat-coffin inside the *guo* grave (fig. 7.2.4/10/12/6/8). In Chengdu, with the exception of Baihuatan[1] and Huachengxiao (92CHM2) (fig. 7.1.13/5), all the other graves are rectangular or elongated pits. This evidence shows on the one hand the combination of elements from different traditions in the case of Xindu (*guo* and boat coffin), on the other hand the limited use of boat coffins in Chengdu, if compared with the sites in the Chengdu Plain, during the early and mid-Warring States period.

During the following late Warring States period the *guo* grave of Yangzishan in Chengdu (53CYM172) stands out as the richest of the Plain (tot. 116) (fig. 7.1.15). The

funerary assemblage is composed of ritual vessels, again inspired by Chu models, *mao* and *jian* weapons of the Chu-Yue tradition, but also locally produced pottery and bronze items (table 7.5, group A). The funerary assemblage of this burial again marks a difference with those graves containing a more limited amount of items and mainly composed of weapons with zoomorphic motifs and local bronze vessels (*mou*, *fu*), like the burials of Jinniuqu (80sM1), Jinchuan fandian (86CJM1) and Jinyucun (92CJM14), or undecorated weapons and ritual vessels like Jinshaxiang (93CGM2). In this case all the graves are rectangular pits with only two examples of pits with wooden axes on the bottom (92CJM14 and 93CGM2).

Table 7.5 Chengdu city - Late Warring States period

Group A HIGH RANK burials (possibly local aristocracy, connection with Chu culture)			
Gc	- P: local types - W: high number Chu/Yue types undecorated - V: Chu types (*hu*, *ding*, *lei*) local types	Yangzishan (53CYM172)	fig. 7.1.15
Group B HIGH RANK burials (no connection with Chu culture)			
rP eP	- P: local types - W: zoomorphic, NO archaic motifs - V: local types	Jingchuan (86CJM1) Jinniuqu (80sM1-2) Jinyucun (92CJM14)	7.1.11 7.1.1 7.1.4
Group C HIGH RANK burial (mixed traits)			
Wa	- local pottery (*guan*, *dou*) - W: undecorated - V: local daily and ritual vessels (*mou*, *ding*, *pan*, *hu*, *dui*)	Jinshaxiang (93CGM2)	7.1.3

In the Chengdu Plain the elongated pit with coffin of Dayi (82DWM2) includes weapons with zoomorphic motifs and locally produced vessels (table 7.6) more similar to those found in group B in Chengdu (table 7.5). In all the funerary assemblages of this period only rare examples of weapons with archaic motifs were found: the largest graves, like Yangzishan, contain types inspired by the Chu tradition, while the smaller ones contain a prevalence of local weapons with zoomorphic designs, already present, although in minor percentages, in the preceding period.

Table 7.6 Chengdu Plain - Late Warring States period

HIGH RANK burial			
ePc	- P: local types - W: zoomorphic motifs - V: local types	Dayi (82DWM2)	fig. 7.1.15

[1] The suggestion that the Baihuatan grave was a boat coffin was made on the basis of the pit's shape and its wooden remains (SB 1976: 40).

In the Chengdu Plain burials of the later phases, especially during the Qin and Western Han dynasty, substantial differences can be detected in the grave types, mainly *guo* and rectangular pits with coffins and only rarely boat coffins, and in the funerary assemblages, which tend to include either a combination of pottery, iron and a more limited amount of bronze objects and undecorated or non-local weapons or funerary assemblages of pottery, lacquer and iron items (table 7.7).

Table 7.7 Chengdu city and Plain - Qin-early Han dynasty

Group A HIGH RANK burial (possibly local military officer) - Chengdu			
Wa	- P: flat-based jars - W: high number zoomorphic motifs - L: daily items	Guangrongxiao (92CGM5)	fig. 7.1.2
Group B HIGH RANK burial (possibly administrative officer) - Chengdu			
G	- P: flat-base jars - NO weapons - L: daily vessels - I: daily tools	Fenghuangshan (83CFM1)	7.1.15
Group C HIGH RANK burials (possibly military officer) - Plain			
rP rPc	- P: flat-based vessels, local round-base *fu* - W: Chu/Yue-Central Plain types undecorated - V: local types (*fu*, *mou*) - I: tools and weapons - S: symbols	Dayi Wulong (84DWM18-19)	7.1.10
Group D MID-RANK burials (possibly soldiers/non-local colons) - Plain			
Gc	- P: local types (round-base *fu* and jars) - W: Chu/Qin types undecorated - V: local types (*mou*, *fu*) - I: daily and agricolture tools	Longquanyi (92CLM34-16)	7.1.11

Examples of the first case are the Qin graves of Dayi Wulong (84DWM18-19), particularly M19, which contained a large amount of weapons from the Chu and Central Plain tradition but no examples with local zoomorphic designs; the graves probably belonged to members of the military class active in the area during the Qin period (table 7.7, group C). An exception, also outlined in the correspondence analysis, is the *guo* grave of Guangrongxiao (92CGM5) which has its walls made of cobbles and a large quantity of weapons decorated in the local zoomorphic style. The grave, dated to the beginning of the early Western Han dynasty, and probably belonging to an officer, shows the permanence of local funerary elements until a late date and their combination with a different grave lay-out (table 7.7, group A).

Burials with a high number of lacquer and pottery items in the same period are the *guo* grave of Fenghuangshan (83CFM1) (table 7.7, group B) and those of Longquanyi (92CLM34-16) (table 7.7, group D) in Chengdu, which are also quite close to the funerary production of the Qingchuan site in north Sichuan, and the two burials with a

wooden platform in Mianzhu (78MQM1-2). In this case the weapons are only a small percentage of the assemblages and are generally undecorated (*mao* B.Ic and *ge* A.IVd), while locally produced pottery, bronze and lacquer vessels of daily use form the majority of the grave goods. The burials in Longquanyi could have belonged to a community of *colons*, possibly soldiers devoted to different kinds of activities (military, subsistence), while the Fenghuangshan grave shows a level of craftmanship in the wooden structure and in the lacquer items that might suggest its use by a member of a higher rank, possibly involved in the new administrative organisation of the area.

The more specific analysis of pottery vessels (section 6.1.1) on the whole sample not only resulted in the identification of early chronological phases for some burials in Chengdu (Baihuatan, Wuxian, Jinyucun, Zhongyi Xueyuan, Huacheng) and in Shifang (SFM25-11-56-69), but also in the outlining of general diachronic trends in the composition of the pottery assemblages. Locally produced round-based vessels with impressed cord pattern and small bowls and cups, most probably connected with the performance of rituals, were adopted in the boat-shaped coffins and simple rectangular pits of earlier periods (Warring States), while a more technologically refined pottery, usually thrown on the fast wheel and with simple parallel lines as decoration was generally used in *guo* burials or simple rectangular pits dated to the Qin and Western Han dynasty (53CFM1). The analysis on the bronze weapons of the whole sample (6.2) also outlined a general trend from early to late periods, specifically a decrease in the quantity and variety of weapons, limited to undecorated types or to those of non-local origin, like the *jian* C.IIIb, C.IIIc, C.IIId and the *ge* A.IVd belonging to the Central Plain or the mid/lower Yangzi tradition, in the later periods.

7.1.1 Shifang cemetery

A particular case in the development of mortuary practices in the Chengdu Plain is the cemetery of Shifang, which showed a relative homogeneity of the burial types and their funerary assemblages during the three phases of the Warring States period (tables 7.8-10). In the early and middle phase a total number of 25 graves, mainly boat coffins, only included three rectangular pits, two elongated pits and one square pit; in the late phase the 15 burials are boat coffins, elongated pits and elongated pits with coffins. For all of them the funerary assemblages included weapons with zoomorphic motifs and locally produced pottery and bronze vessels, similar to group B in table 7.5; weapon

types with archaic motifs, like those in the above-mentioned sites of Chengdu and the Chengdu Plain, or particularly elaborate ritual vessels inspired by Chu models, like in Mianzhu, Xindu and Yangzishan, were instead not found in Shifang, thus suggesting the existence of a different social and cultural environment, where funerary items are quite consistently shared by all the members of the community. Rich and large burials like Xindu, Mianzhu and Yangzishan were not unearthed at the site; evidence of an intra-site differentiation is however visible in the variations, though less marked, in the number and variety of buried items and especially in the lay-out of the graves.

Table 7.8 Shifang cemetery - Early Warring States period

Group A HIGH RANK burial (possibly local elite, no connection with Central Plain and Chu culture)			
sP	- P: local types (*fu*, *hu*, *zhan*) - W: high number zoomorphic, NO archaic motifs local types - V: no vessels	Shifang (SFM25)	fig. 7.1.5
Group B LOWER RANK burials			
BC	- P: local types (*fu*, *hu*, *zhan*) - W: limited number zoomorphic, NO archaic motifs local types - V: local types	Shifang (SFM11-30-56-69)	7.1.5

During the early Warring States period the square burial SFM25 stands out as an exception among the other boat-coffin graves (table 7.8, group A); it did not share the same lay-out of the boat coffins, but still contained a similar, although richer (tot. 33 items), funerary assemblage. The grave probably belonged to a member of the local elite who adopted those symbols of status recognised as proper by the community, but without acquiring the specificity of the boat-coffin grave type characterising the funerary customs of other individuals within the same society.

Table 7.9 Shifang cemetery - Mid-Warring States period

Group A HIGH RANK burials (local elite, no connection with Central Plain and Chu culture)			
BC	- P: local types (*fu*, *zhan*), hand-made - W: limited number zoomorphic/symbolic, NO archaic motifs local types - V: no vessels - S: rare	Shifang (SFM1-14-38-49-54-10)	fig. 7.1.5
Group B LOWER RANK burials			
BC eP rP	- P: local types (*fu*, *hu*, *zhan*) - W: limited number zoomorphic, NO archaic motifs local types - V: local types	Shifang (SFM23-27 etc.)	7.1.5

During the mid-late Warring States period the graves with a higher number of items (average 28/30) also contained weapons with zoomorphic designs and locally produced pottery and bronze vessels, although the grave types comprised boat coffins (SFM1, SFM14), elongated pits (SFM38, SFM49, SFM54) and rectangular pits (SFM10) (table 7.9-10).

Table 7.10 Shifang cemetery - Late Warring States period

HIGH RANK burials (local elite,mixed traits)			
BC eP	- P: local types (*fu*, *mou*) - W: zoomorphic/symbolic motifs AND undecorated local AND non-local types I: daily tools - V: no vessels - S: rare	Shifang (SFM54-etc.)	7.1.5

It thus seems that the community of Shifang maintained a strong group identity at least in the display of the funerary items which are all of local production. The internal variations are more visible in the absolute number of items and types, which are possibly associated to the existence of an internal social stratification, differentiating the above-mentioned burials from the others. On the other hand the presence of weapon types decorated with stylised zoomorphic motifs, like in the burials SFM49 and SFM54 of the late Warring States period, has been taken as evidence of the possible different cultural origin of the deceased, for example, an officer of a newly founded administration trying to acquire local customs.

The correspondence analysis undertaken on the site of Shifang (section 6.1.2) showed however a distinct local development in the use of pottery vessel types, and specifically the maintenance of a strong local character until the late phases of the site: for example, the *guo* graves of the early Western Han dynasty still contained round-based *guan* and *fu* (Gr.AII and F.A) characteristic of the local tradition. A major change in funerary customs is instead more clearly visible in the external lay-out of the burials, and specifically in the gradual decrease of boat coffins and elongated pits in the late Warring States period and in the adoption of simple rectangular or square pits with no coffins or much more elaborated *guo* graves, which are however a small percentage within the cemetery, in a later period. Another clear change is also visible in the use of bronze weapons, in this case like in other parts of the Chengdu Plain, especially in the burials SFM21, SFM66 and SFM67 all rectangular pits and *guo* encasements dated to the early Western Han period. They all contain very few weapons, and all belonging to

a non-local tradition: the *jian* type C.IIIc, attributed to the Chu/Yue tradition, the undecorated *mao* arrow-shaped type B.III and the *yue* type D.V; in these late phases lacquer, iron and wood objects were also more widely used then before as in the same graves SFM21, SFM66, SFM67 and SFM53 (table 7.11).

Table 7.11 Shifang cemetery - Qin-Han period

HIGH RANK burials (acquisition of *guo* coffins)			
rP G	- P: local types (*fu*, round-base *guan*) - W: limited number undecorated types, NO zoomorphic motifs - I: daily tools - L: daily vessels	Shifang (SFM21-66-67)	7.1.5

The archaeological evidence from the sites of the Chengdu Plain shows a complex and highly mobile social landscape, where various social and cultural groups are closely interacting in the area and in a period of important political changes. During the early-middle Warring States period part of the burials shows a distinct set of items which may possibly be related to the local elite/aristocracy (tables 7.2-7.3, group A); these assemblages will not be found in the following periods. Other high rank burials in the mid-late Warring States period (tables 7.3-7.5 and table 7.6, group B) display instead a different set of grave goods which could possibly be linked to a local elite more connected with the military class. The site of Shifang only includes these latter assemblages and it also shows a strong sense of group/community identity (tables 7.8-10). A drastic social change seems to take place during the Qin-early Han period when the *guo* burials or the rectangular pits became the most widespread grave types. The different clusters of funerary assemblages identified in Chengdu and in the Chengdu Plain (table 7.7) can be variously associated to the presence of military and imperial officers, possibly connected with the instalment of the new administration (table 7.7, groups A-B-C), or to communities of newly settled *colons*/soldiers (table 7.7, group D). Also the graves in the site of Shifang show a clear differentiation from the preceding phases, although maintaining a local pottery tradition (table 7.11).

7.2 NORTH SICHUAN

In north Sichuan the sites under study were the cemeteries of Baolunyuan (54GZM1-15, 95GZM17) and Qingchuan (72Q), both dated to the late Warring States period, and the Western Han dynasty graves of Mianyang (92MSM1-95MSM2). The

cemetery of Baolunyuan includes an interesting variety of burial types: boat coffins, elongated pits and rectangular pits, *guo* with coffins and boat coffins with an inner *guo* casket, which can be considered a combination of a boat grave and a *guo* burial peculiar of the site. The presence of lacquer remains seems to be related to this structural characteristic as it was used to paint the inner casket, as in the *guo* graves. The composition of the funerary assemblages is similar to the one in Dongsungba in south-east Sichuan (table 7.15, group B): the association of weapons, decorated with sparse symbolic and zoomorphic motifs, and bronze vessels, especially the *pen* basin placed near the head of the deceased, together with the use of locally produced round-base pottery vessels. Only one bronze seal was found at the site, thus marking a difference from the sites of Yingjing and Dongsunba (table 7.12). A major difference within the site was noticed between graves containing weapons (54GZM1, 3, 10-15; 95GZM17) and those having only pottery and bronze vessels (54GZM2, 4-9); no graves with a considerably higher number of items were found in the site.

Table 7.12 Zhaohua Baolunyuan cemetery - Late Warring States period

▪ HORIZONTAL differentiation: presence of different funerary practices ▪ VERTICAL differentiation: limited ▪ military post?			
BC BCc eP rPc Gc	- P: local types (*fu*, round-base jars) - W: sparse zoomorphic/symbolic motifs - V: local types (*fu*, *mou*) - S: rare	Baolunyuan	fig. 7.2.2

The cemetery of Qingchuan (tot. 72 burials) was mainly composed of simple *guo* graves, usually with one or two compartments containing a coffin and the grave goods, and covered with clay. The funerary assemblages included a large variety of pottery, lacquer and lacquered pottery vessels, but no bronze items, except a few vessels and personal ornaments like belt-hooks and *huang* pendants; no bronze weapons and seals were found at the site (table 7.13).

A major differentiation was noticed between the burial types and funerary assemblages of the cemeteries in Baolunyuan and Qingchuan, despite their close location[2]. Baolunyuan was characterised by the use of a large variety of grave types containing bronze items, while the cemetery of Qingchuan was mainly composed of *guo* graves with lacquer and pottery vessels.

Table 7.13 Qingchuan cemetery - Late Warring States period

▪ community of COLONS/IMMIGRANTS ▪ agriculture/land management activities			
G Gc	- P: large variety flat-base *hu* and jars wheel thrown - L: large variety daily vessels - W: NO weapons - V: rare, local types	Qingchuan	fig. 7.2.1

In many respects, the cemetery of Qingchuan shows similar traits with the clusters of burials in Longquanyi (Chengdu) (table 7.7 group D), where most of the graves are *guo* with or without coffins. The funerary assemblages of the two sites, however, differ in two main aspects. On the one hand the pottery types of each site are clearly influenced by the local manufacture and use: round-base cord-patterned vessels in Longquanyi and flat-base *hu* and jars in Qingchuan; on the other hand the graves of Longquanyi contain a larger number of bronze vessels (*mou*, *fu*), weapons in Qin/Chu style and a small number of seals. Unfortunately, a full report referring to these two sites has not been published and only three burials in Qingchuan (72QM1, 23, 50) and one in Longquanyi (92CLM34) have a complete recording of their grave goods and could then be used for this study.

The variations among these sites might however suggest the presence of different social and cultural groups, possibly involved in different kinds of activities and displaying various needs and modalities of representation in their funerary practices. The site of Qingchuan might have possibly been founded by groups of colons transferred by the Qin government from the Central Plain to Sichuan after the annexation of the region in 316 BC (table 7.12); the discovery of wooden slips regarding land management and the lack of weapons might suggest a more specific function of the site as administrative and production center, more than as a military post. The lack of a full listing of the quantity and types of items for each burial unfortunately prevented a more detailed analysis of the social stratification and composition of the members of the community. The site of Longquanyi in Chengdu, although similar for the grave types and the lacquer goods, has a different character produced by the inclusion of Chu/Qin weapons in the assemblages and the use of locally manufactured pottery and bronze vessels (table 7.7, group D). In this case it can be suggested that the cemetery was used by a community of colons/soldiers adopting a

[2] The difference between the two sites has also been noted by Alain Thote (2001: 212).

combination of mortuary practices: the *guo* structure and the weapons of the Central Plain and Chu regions, and the local pottery and bronze vessels.

7.3 SOUTH-WEST SICHUAN

The sites of of Tongxincun, Nanluoba, Zengjiagou and Lietai, all distributed in the vicinity of Yingjing city, and those of Jianwei were the object of study for south-west Sichuan. The main focus of the analysis was however the Yingjing sites, since different burial types and funerary assemblages, all dated to the late Warring States period, were found in a relatively restricted area. The comparison of the various grave goods buried in each site (section 5.2.2.2) clearly showed major differentiations between the *guo* graves of Zengjiagou (81YGM11-13, 82YGM15-16, 83YGM21), which contained flat-base pottery vessels and lacquer items but no bronze objects (table 7.14, group C) (fig. 7.2.16), and those of Nanluoba (88YL) and Tongxincun (85YTM5, 86YTM1-25, 87YTM2) (fig. 7.2.14-15), which included locally produced bronze and pottery vessels, weapons with zoomorphic motifs, seals and only occasional lacquer remains (table 7.14, groups A-B).

The cluster of burials in Zengjiagou were associated by Chinese scholars to the burials in the Chu region and dated to the early Warring States period; the *guo* structure, the use of a niche compartment in 82YGM16 and 81YGM11, the grave good types, like the wooden sword *jian* in 83YGM21, were all taken as evidence of a distinct culture (SWGW 1989: 29). The *guo* structure of these burials can however also be found in the Qin cemetery of Qingchuan, like the use of a side compartment in 83YGM21 and in 72QM23, and the lacquer items of the two sites also share similar shapes and decorative motifs. The date of these burials can more likely be shifted to a later period, around the late Warring States or the III century BC, and associated to funerary traditions dissimilar to the local mortuary practices, especially in the use of *guo* encasements covered by white clay and for the preference given to lacquer and wooden objects, and the exclusion of bronze weapons and vessels. The combination of these two aspects of the funerary practice, however, can not only be related to cultural traits proper of the Chu area, since they are also found in other cultural contexts (like burials in the Qin areas). The presence of these burials in the Yingjing area clearly marks a differentiation from the boat coffins or rectangular pits containing decorated bronze weapons or bronze

vessels found in Tongxincun and Nanluoba. They probably belonged to members of a distinct social group settled in the area who shared the same mortuary practices and adopted a certain set of status symbols.

Table 7.14 Yingjing area - Late Warring States period

▪ HORIZONTAL differentiation within the area ▪ SIMILARITIES of the HIGH-RANK burials in different sites (Tongxincun-Nanluoba)			
Group A Tongxincun ▪ HORIZONTAL/VERTICAL differentiation (more or less emphasis on weapons+seals; variations in quantity of grave goods) ▪ GROUP IDENTITY (seals, zoomorphic motifs: local military/administrative officers?)			
BC	- pottery: local types (round-base *fu* and large jars) - weapons: large variety zoomorphic motifs - bronze vessels: local types (*mou*, *fu*) - seals: large quantity	Tongxincun (86YTM20)	fig. 7.2.15
BC eP rP	- pottery: local types (round-base *fu* and jars) - weapons: NO - vessels: local types (*mou*,*fu*) - seals: limited quantity	Tongxincun (86YTM11)	7.2.15
Group B Nanluoba ▪ VERTICAL differentiation (variations in quantity of grave goods; presence/absence of weapons)			
rP eP	- pottery: local types (round-base *fu* and small *dou*) - weapons: limited quantity (only in elite burials) - seals: rare	Nanluoba (88YLM11 elite) (88YLM8)	7.2.17
Group C Zengjiagou ▪ ELITE burials: similarities with Qin culture			
G	- pottery: flat-base jars, wheel-thrown - weapons: NO - bronze vessels: NO - lacquer: large quantity - seals: rare	Zengjiagou (83YGM21)	7.2.16

In the sites of Nanluoba and Tongxincun the internal variations in the number and variety of weapons were connected with the existence of social stratification in the area: the rectangular grave 88YLM1 in Nanluoba and the boat coffin 86YTM21a in Tongxincun might have belonged to deceased of high rank, who adopted a similar quantity and variety of bronze weapons. Apart from these common traits, possibly shared by a restricted elite, the two sites differ in many respects: Nanluoba has mainly rectangular pits containing small pottery vessels, with the exception of the elongated pit 88YLM10 and the elongated pit with coffin 88YLM11; bronze weapons were adopted in only four burials in the site. Tongxincun mainly comprises boat coffins and elongated pits and only a limited number of rectangular pits (85YTM5, 86YTM1-2-3) containing a large quantity of bronze weapons and vessels, seals and round base pottery vessels.

These differences, like the ones outlined between these sites and Zengjiagou, were associated to the coexistence of various social groups in the same area, possibly devoted to different kinds of activities and expressing their status and social affiliation

with different sets of items. The individuals of high rank in both sites (86YTM21 and 88YLM11) seemed instead to share a similar cultural background, especially in the significance given to weapons as symbols of status and affiliation. The widespread use of seals with local characters/motifs in both the rectangular pits and boat coffins of Tongxincun suggest the adoption and use of a clear symbol of group identity and/or status by certain members of the community who thus differentiated themselves from other individuals or groups within the same society. The use of seals strongly characterise the Tongxincun site, while only one was found in Nanluoba (88YLM9) and two in Zengjiagou (82YGM16, 83YGM21); in other areas of Sichuan, although present, they are in a much more limited number than at Yingjing. This could suggest the need of either emphasising the affiliation of the deceased as a member of a particular social group holding a position of power within the community or reinforcing the sense of group identity through the display of common symbols.

The variations in the number and quality of grave goods within the Tongxincun site, for example between burials mainly containing bronze weapons and vessels and small pottery items and those with a large quantity of storage vessels and iron objects, were further interpreted as evidence of a mixed social composition of the local community.

7.4 SOUTH-EAST SICHUAN

In the area of south-east Sichuan different clusters of burials have been found in the sites of Fuling, Dongsunba, Yunyang and Zhongxian. The burials of Fuling dated to the Warring States period are generally large-size square pits with a high number of bronze weapons and vessels (fig. 7.2.21). The graves 72FXM1 (tot. 90 items) and 72FXM3 (tot. 50 items) contain vessels inspired by Chu models and weapons with zoomorphic models and left undecorated (*mao* B.IIb, *ge* C.IIIc). The *guo* with coffin 80FXM5 also contains ritual vessels together with locally produced vessels (*mou*, *fu*), like the rectangular pit with coffin 93FXM9 (table 7.15, group A). The burials 72FXM1 and 72FXM3 were associated with the elite class ruling over Eastern Sichuan, especially considering the presence of items like the ritual vessel *hu* or the bells (SB 1974: 69).

Table. 7.15 South-east Sichuan - Mid-late Warring States period

Group A	Fuling area ELITE burials		
rP	- pottery: fragments - weapons: local types (*jian*), zoomorphic motifs Chu/Yue types (*ge)* - bronze vessels: ritual items (*hu*) + local *mou*, *fu* - seals: NO - iron: NO	Fuling (72FXM1-3, 80FXM5, 93FXM1)	7.2.21
Group B	Dongsunba cemetery HORIZONTAL/VERTICAL differentiation (possibly within a community of soldiers)		
BC eP	- pottery: local types (round-base *fu* and jars) - weapons: set of *jian*, *yue*, *mao* - bronze vessels: local items (*pen*, *mou*) - seals: few - iron	Dongsunba (54BDM49)	7.2.19
rP sP	- pottery: local types (round-base *fu* and jars) - weapons: few - bronze vessels: few - seals: few -iron	Dongsunba (54BDM65)	7.2.19
Group C	Yunyang cemetery MID-RANK/HORIZONTAL differentiation		
rP G	- pottery: flat/round-base jars, Chu style *hu*, *ding*, *dui* - weapons: Chu/Yue types - bronze vessels: *mou* - seals: NO	Fuling (72FXM1)	7.2.23

In the cemetery of Yunyang (fig. 7.2.23) the burials are all composed of rectangular pits, rectangular pits with coffins and *guo* graves dated to the middle and late Warring States period. The graves contain an average of 7 or 8 items, with larger quantities in the rectangular pit with coffin 97LJM23 (tot. 15) and in the *guo* burial 97LJM43 (tot. 14), which also have the highest number of weapons (table 7.15, group C). Internal differentiation within the cemetery can be recognised between graves containing pottery and bronze utilitarian vessels (tot. 17) and those which also include bronze weapons (tot. 13). The weapons, decorated with zoomorphic motifs and the bronze vessels (*mou*, *fu*), are similar to those found in other areas of Sichuan, while the pottery clearly show local morphological (*hu*, *ding*, *dui*, flat base jars, *li*) and stylistic traits (painted volutes) closer to the production of Hunan, together with cord-marked round-base vessels. No seals were found at the site.

The burials in Zhongxian are characterised by similar grave types and funerary assemblages of those in Yunyang: the rectangular pits and simple *guo* coffins of the site contain a small quantity of items (tot. average 3 or 4) and a limited amount of weapons.

The 66 burials of the cemetery of Baxian Dongsunba (fig. 7.2.19) include boat coffins, elongated pits, rectangular pits and square pits, and have assemblages similar to the Zhaohua Baolunyuan site in north Sichuan (table 7.12). The average number of grave goods is between 15 and 25 or between 8 and 14 items; the only exceptions are

the boat coffins 54BDM49-50 (tot. 31-43), the elongated pits 54BDM35 (tot. 27), the rectangular pit with coffin 54BDM85 (tot. 29) and the square pit 54BDM30 (tot. 30). The average quantity of each category of items varies according to the burial type: bronze items were mostly used in boat coffins and elongated pits and more occasionally in rectangular and square pits, while in these latter grave types pottery is more widely used (table 7.15, group B). Among the bronze items, the major variations are detectable in the use of weapons and vessels (especially the *pen* basin) which are clearly associated together in boat coffins and elongated pits, where a standardised set of items (bronze *pen*, *yue*, *jian*, *mao*) was usually found, according to a pattern repeated until the Western Han dynasty in the more elaborated settings of the Fuling burials (82FHM1-2). Weapons are also contained in rectangular pits (but not necessarily in association with vessels) and only in four of the 16 square pits (54BDM64, 67, 77, 78).

The analysis of the bronze weapons in the site (par. 6.2.4) showed that the 47 burials (out of 66) containing these items had a highly standardised combination of types, mainly the *mao* B.IIa1 (zoomorphic design), the *jian* C.IIb (tiger-fur pattern) and the *yue* D.IIIa, all of local manufacture. The general consistency in the quantity (limited to an average of 2 to 4), with the exception of the higher number in the elongated pit graves 54BDM4 (tot. 7) and 54BDM9 (tot. 7) and in the boat coffin 54BDM50 (tot. 8), and the fixed variety of types both suggest the lack of a marked differentiation among the individuals buried with weapons. Variations in mortuary practices are more visible in the different lay-out of the burials (boat coffins, elongated pits and rectangular pits) than in the funerary assemblages. This part of the cemetery, containing weapons, might well have belonged to members of the same class of soldiers, possibly of mixed origin, but sharing the same set of items as symbols of their social status.

Seals were used in all the burial types but in a much smaller percentage than in Yingjing; they were moulded with Han ideograms and local symbols and often the two types were found together, like in the boat coffins 54BDM49-50. This evidence marks a clear differentiation from the Tongxincun site where the majority of the seals had local symbols and only three examples of Han seal were found out of a total number of 69. Iron items were found in all the burial types, thus excluding the possibility of a chronological differentiation between boat coffins and rectangular/square pits, while lacquer remains are extremely sparse, although in many cases they might not have been properly preserved, like the bronze handles in 54BDM9 suggest.

Table 7.16 South-east Sichuan - Early Western Han period

Fuling			
rP	- pottery: large quantity flat-base jars - weapons: limited quantity, undecorated - bronze vessels: daily use vessels (*mou*, *fu*, *fuzeng*) ritual vessels (*ding*, *hu*) - seals: NO - iron: tools	Fuling (78FYM1-4, 82FHM1)	fig. 7.2.21

In a later phase the burials 78FYM1-4 and 82FHM1-2 in Fuling (fig. 7.2.21), dated to the early Western Han dynasty, mainly contain pottery, locally produced bronze vessels and iron objects; the average number of items in a tomb is around 25/30 (table 7.16). It is also worth noting that the burial 82FHM1-2 shows the use of weapons in combination with a bronze *pen* vessel placed near the head of the deceased according to a pattern which was found in nearly all the boat coffins and elongated pits in the cemetery of Baxian Dongsunba.

7.5 CHANGING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES

The various sets of analyses conducted on the mortuary remains in Sichuan has suggested the existence of a varied and highly mobile social landscape characterised by vertical and horizontal differentiations within social and cultural groups (elite/high rank groups, soldiers, colons) and their dynamics of change over time. The choice of analysing the data according to four main areas of reference (Chengdu and Chengdu Plain, north Sichuan, south-west Sichuan and south-east Sichuan) was exclusively methodological and did not imply the definition of cultural boundaries between them. The main aim was to outline the major characteristics of all the burial clusters, identifying general diachronic patterns and contextualising similarities and differences. The variations in quantity, variety and combination of all the different categories of items, their relationship with the burial types adopted and the presence/absence of certain particular types in specific contexts suggest the existence of horizontal and vertical differentiations within and between sites and an articulated landscape of social relationships within each area. The analysis of the bronze weapon decoration (section 6.3) on the whole sample was also significant in this regard: although its most direct application was the definition of typological groups on the basis of the morphological and decorative attributes of the weapons, the association of the decoration to the different burials and sites (section 6.4) showed interesting patterns in the distribution

and selection of the motifs in various areas. The different "fortune" of the zoomorphic designs on bronze weapons, so closely linked with the idea of a "Ba-Shu" culture, or of the "archaic" motifs perpetuated in the region from Western Zhou models, was outlined in the different cases and indicated an ongoing process of maintenance and reinforcement of status and group identity.

Through the course of the analysis I have tentatively suggested how different individuals or groups could have tried to maintain and emphasise their social affiliation through the display of certain symbols of status, as probably in the case of the elite groups around Chengdu during the early and mid-Warring States period (tables 2-3, group A), who exclusively used a distinct combination of archaic, local and imported motifs/items in their burials, or in that of the occupants of the Zengjiagou graves in the Yingjing area (table 7.14, group C) during the late Warring States period. Evidence of a strong interaction and possibly of the need to negotiate a local recognition seemed on the other hand apparent in the cemeteries of Baolunyuan in north Sichuan, dated to the III century BC, which displays an unusual combination of grave structures and funerary assemblages (table 7.12), or in that of Longquanyi in Chengdu, dated to the late Warring States period, where local and non-local funerary attributes are combined in the same burial (table 7.7, group D).

The existence of a strong sense of group identity preserving a local tradition was identified in the long-term maintenance of all or some parts of the local funerary practices, like in the cemetery of Shifang from the Warring States to the Western Han period (tables 7.8-10), or in those of Tongxincun and Dongsunba (table 7.14, groups A-B), generally dated to the III century BC, or again in the Qin cemetery of Qingchuan (table 7.13).

In some cases the archaeological evidence showed the existence of an horizontal differentiation within the community, but without visible contacts and exchanges, as in the case of the clusters of burials in the two sites of Tongxincun and Nanluoba (table 7.14, groups A-B); in some other cases the lack of interaction was visible at an intra-site level like in the case of the cemeteries of Qingchuan (table 7.13) in relation with the one of Baolunyuan in north Sichuan (table 7.12).

All these different dynamics of change and interaction between what we have called *social* and *cultural identities*, as opposed to *archaeological cultures*, could be outlined, more or less successfully according to the case, through the analysis of general and more specific categories related to the mortuary practices of the region and of their

association in each specific context. The analysis has shown that clear cut boundaries between different cultural groups can not be easily drawn, since the individual and group identity of the various agents performing the mortuary practices in the region was continuously reconstructed and negotiated through social practices, interaction and exchanges. This process of change in the formation and maintenance of identities was also emphasised by the peculiarities of the period under study, between the Warring States and the Western Han dynasty, and thus characterised by intense political and social changes preceding the formation of the empire, by military campaigns and by movements of people. In this highly mobile social landscape I have outlined local and regional practices, major trends and more contextualised mortuary customs, trying to link the variability of the archaeological record to the changing nature of group identities in the region.

Further applications of the concept of "cultural and social identities" in the region could certainly be more fully addressed following a refinement of the existing chronological framework and the extension of the available dataset. As does Gardner (2002) in his study of Roman identities in military contexts, I also argue that a comprehensive and articulated analysis of social practice has to take into consideration regional and historical (global) trends and contextualised (local) realities, as well as the dialectics between "structured" institutions and local practice, in order to better outline the dynamics producing and/or affecting the interaction of individual and group identities. The identification of temporal and spatial variations at regional and local scale thus becomes central to this approach, as the need to clearly differentiate between variations taking place through time and those induced by contemporary social dynamics. This study attempted to undertake such an approach through the application of different sets of analysis on the complete dataset and on more limited samples, in order to identify the discontinuities of the archaeological record at a regional and local scale and to relate them with the existence and interaction of various social and cultural groups/identities in the region.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

My research project aimed to contribute to the field of Archaeology and Chinese Archaeology through the study of a specific area (ancient Sichuan) and period (late Bronze Age and early Iron Age) and the adoption of both a theoretical approach and analytical techniques never applied by previous studies devoted to the region. I particularly focussed on the mortuary remains of ancient Sichuan dated to the period comprised between the Warring States and the Western Han dynasty (V-I cent. AD); this choice was first due to the large number and availability of this kind of data, while excavations of settlements and workshops are still quite limited. Furthermore, burial remains offered an interesting case through which to explore the application of a number of theoretical and methodological issues at the core of my research.

The region of Sichuan has only recently become object of academic studies by Western scholars (Bagley 2001), especially after the discovery of the Bronze Age cerimonial pits in Sanxingdui (ca. 1500 BC). The scientific interest subsequently expanded to include the late Bronze Age (Warring States period, V-III cent. BC) and early Iron Age (Qin-Western Han dynasty III-I cent BC). For this period the existing historical sources record the existence of two local kingdoms: Ba and Shu, object of the expansionistic policy of the Chu kingdom during the V-IV cent. BC and eventually conquered by the Qin kingdom in 316 BC. The Chinese studies devoted to the material remains of this period (Zhao 1983a, Song 1998a) have mainly applied a culture-historical approach, which tends to associate different archaeological assemblages to distinct "archaeological cultures" and their people (in this case Ba, Shu, Qin, Chu). The more recent Western studies (Bagley 2001) also make use of these terms of reference to differentiate and discuss the mortuary remains of the region.

My research project has stepped from these premises, on the one hand taking into consideration the cultural-historical perspective for general descriptive purposes, and on the other hand trying to suggest an alternative and more refined approach

which aimed to identify further internal variations and clusters within funerary assemblages and to explain them in a wider framework of social dynamics. In many sections of my research I thus used the terms Ba, Shu, Chu or Qin in order to make reference to a specific aspect or stylistic feature and to exemplify their cultural sphere, like in the case of the zoomorphic motifs on bronze weapons associated to the "Ba-Shu" culture, or the shapes of some bronze vessels characteristic of the Chu region. However, the description and analysis of the data showed that specific attributes, generally associated to a cultural sphere, are in fact often overlapping or repeated in various combinations, thus preventing the definition of clear-cut cultural boundaries between assemblages. The qualitative and quantitative analysis of my study thus tried to disentangle diagnostic attributes within the funerary remains of the region and to identify and discuss clusters of materials not necessarily or exclusively related to standard affiliations based on cultural differences.

To address the complexity and variety of the data, the theoretical perspective informing my study has made use of the concept of "group identity", which refers to those individuals or groups sharing similar beliefs, status, class, age, gender, etc, and continuously reaffirming their own identification/differentiation as individuals or groups through social practice (Jenkins 1996). In this perspective different identities are not clearly separated from each other, while the material expression of their social behaviour might be shaped in different combinations. In this work I was specifically interested to identify clusters of material related to the social groups of the region, with particular reference given to the horizontal and vertical differentiation between and within sites and their change over the whole period considered.

The methodological approach of this research helped to outline the main social groups interacting in the area (local elite, local and non-local military classes, immigrants) and their modes of self-representation within burials and cemeteries, more or less influenced by mutual contacts and interactions. The emphasis on the concept of group identity and the identification of a variety of agents, in some cases overlapping in their mortuary customs, have thus contributed to enlarge and refine the interpretations traditionally applied in the area, mainly influenced by a cultural historical approach, and to create a more complex picture of the region at the time.

The terms "Ba" and "Shu" can probably still be adopted to refer to distinctive stylistic and cultural features but, as this study tried to suggest, have only a limited

application if looking at the variety of associations in mortuary practices, particularly burial types and grave goods. These variations can often be more specifically related to differences in social affiliation and status, and to local or non-local/imported traditions variously adopted by different individuals or groups. The emphasis of this research thus lays not exclusively on the definition general cultural traits, but on the explanation of their use and significance in different contexts and in social practice. The conclusions of this work clearly suggest a more articulated scenario if compared with previous studies, and aim to stimulate further discussion on the problem of identities, social agents and social practice through the specificity of a Chinese case.

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BDKX Beijing daxue kaogu xi 北 京 大 学 考 古 系 [Archaeology Department of Beijing University]
CB Chengdushi bowuguan 成都市博物馆 [Chengdu Municipal Museum]
CBK Chengdushi bowuguan kaogudui 成都市博物馆考古队 [Archaeological Team of Chengdu Municipal Museum]
CQB Chongqing bowuguan 重 庆 博 物 馆 [Chongqing Museum]
CK Chengdu shi kaogudui 成 都 市 考 古 队 [Chengdu Archaeological Team]
CWG Chengdu shi wenwu guanlichu 成都市文物管理处 [Chengdu Cultural Relics Administration Office]
CWKG Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu gongzuodui 成都文物考古工作队 [Chengdu Municipality Archaeological Team]
CWKY Chengdu shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 成都市文物考古研究所 [Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology of Chengdu Municipality]
DW Dayi xian wenhuaguan 大 邑 县 文 化 馆 [Culture office of Dayi District]
FW Fuling xian wenhuaguan 涪陵县文化 馆 [Culture Office of Fuling District]
GWG Guangyuan shi wenwu guanlisuo 广元市文物管理所 [Guangyuan Municipal Office for Cultural Relics Administration]
HB Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖 北 省 博 物 馆 [Hubei Province Museum]
HNB Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖 南 省 博 物 馆 [Hunan Province Museum]
HYB Hubei sheng Yichang diqu Bowuguan 湖 北 省 宜 昌 地 区 博 物 馆 [Museum of Yichang, Hubei]
KG Kaogu
KGXB Kaogu xuebao
KGYWW Kaogu yu Wenwu
LWG Longquanyi qu wenwu guanlisuo 龙泉驿区文物管理所 [Cultural Relics Administrative Office
MB Mianyang bowuguan 绵阳博物馆 [Mianyang Museum]
MP Medieval Pottery Research Group
MW Mianyang shi wenhuaju 绵阳市文化局 [Miangyang Culture Bureau]
MZ Mianzhu xian wenhuaguan 绵竹县文化馆 [Culture Office of Mianzhu District]
PW Peng xian wenhuaguan 彭 县 文 化 馆 [Culture Office of Pengxian]
PJWG Pujang xian wenwu guanlisuo 蒲江县文物管理所 [Pujiang Cultural Relics Administration Office]
QW Qingchuan xian wenhuaguan 青川县文化馆 [Culture Office of Qingchuan district]
SB Sichuan sheng bowuguan 四川省博物馆 [Sichuan Provincial Museum]
SDLX Sichuan daxue lishi xi 四 川 大 学 历 史 系 [History Department of Sichuan University]
SWBG Shifang shi wenwu baohu guanlisuo 什防市文物保护管理所 [Shifang Municipal Office for Cultural Relics Conservation and Administration]
SWGW Sichuan sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 四川省文管会 [Sichuan Province Commission for Cultural Relics Administration]
SWKY Sichuan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 四川省文物考古研究所 [Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology of Sichuan Province]
WW Wenwu
XWG Xindu xian wenwu guanlisuo 新都县文物管理所 [Cultural Relics Administration Office of Xindu District]
YaW Yaan diqu wenhuaguan 雅 安 地 区 文 化 馆 [Culture Office of Yaan]
YB Yingjing Yandao gucheng yizhi bowuguan 荥经严道古城遗址博物馆 [Yingjing Ancient Yandao City Museum]
YW Yingjing xian wenhuaguan 荥经县文化 馆 [Yingjing Culture Office]

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